

FRAT LUX

OR,

A generall Conduct to a right understanding
and charity in the great Combuſtions
and Broils about

RELIGION

Here in

ENGLAND.

Betwixt

*Baptiſt and Proteſtant, Preſbyte-
rian and Independent.*

To the end that *Moderation* and *Quietneſſe* may
at length happily enſue after ſo various
Tumults in the *Kingdome*.

The third Edition, reviewed and enlarged by the Authour
J. V. C. a Friend to Men of all Religions.

by Vincent Gane & Fryer

.....*Jam proximus ardet
Hecalegon. Tantane animis celeſtibus ira?*

Printed in the Year 1665.

The Author hereof was John -
Vincent Cane, a Learned Franciscan
who dying in, or near Somerset House
was buried in the Chappel there under
belonging in June, 1678. beside this
he wrote.

- 1 Diaphanta partly agⁿ Shillingston
- 2 TΩ KAGOOAIKΩ Shillingston
3. A Dialogue betw^x a Lady & Knight
ab^t Popery.
4. Letters under y^e Name of Diaphanta.

Altho^{ugh} Vol. 2. p. 46i.
for some Acc^t of y^e Authors life, see
C. 4. B. 15. of y^e Book.



To the most Illustrious, and most excellent Lady,

The Countesse of

ARUNDEL and SURREY, &c.

MADAM,

IT often happens in Books what sometime in Children; that although obscurely born, they are by the benign aspect of some great Person happily cast upon them, entertained and bred up in Princely Palaces, and flourish as much by happy chance, as they could have done by a greater birth. I wish with all my heart that this little Off-spring of mine, which comes running with a modest confidence to the feet of your excellent Virtues, which have onely moved it to such a boldness, may find favour in your eyes. So that encouraged by the greatness of your Name, it may cheerfully go in and out, conspicuous in the world, and do the good my heart desireth. To the end it may bear with it some possibility of acceptance, both, Madam, with your Honour, and with the world too, I have to my power imprinted upon its forehead the generall lineaments of noblenesse, Reason and Civility. But other Ornaments are so far wanting, that it may not expect entertainment, but where some part of that Goodness which hath rendred the Countesse of Arundel so renowned and gracions, may inhabit.

The Book carries no other intent, but what a Person of Honour may own: and its purpose written upon its face, answers directly to its heart and spirit. It would for sooth pacifie our rurall distempers about affairs of Religion; and shows a Light, that Madness may see what it does, where it mistakes, and how irrationally it rages. This is

The Epistle Dedicatory.

the very end and purpose of my Book, laudable enough I may presume, and not unworthy the countenance of Honour, were it accomplished with that art, so good a purpose requireth. Let your own excelling goodness, Madam, cover the other defects; and graciously accept what I humbly offer, a sincere, but plain, not a high and eloquent, but, which is harder in the rude distempers I am to deal withall, a peaceable, harmlesse, well-meaning Book. In my dark obscurity I die daily; but my ashes will joy, if it should haply fall out, that good be wrought in England, unto the promoting of sobriety in any one, by the Countesse of Arundels *FIAT LUX*. And those with me, in whom any such good is wrought, will be bound, Madam, to your Ladyship, whose countenance and favourable assistance has brought this little Fiat into light. Your Honour was pleased, as soon as this small Treatise was conceived, and before it was born into the world, when you had once perceived it to study moderation and charity, so good a design, and in these times so wholesome and necessary, to call it Your Book. And that your call, Madam, made it both then to be, and yet to live; which had otherwise been still-born, and perished in the birth. And I pray God it may in some sort attain that End which your noblest Piety so much approves, and is indeed onely aimed at by him, who is,

Madam,

Your Honours most devoted
Seryant,

J. V. C.

FIAT LUX.

Preface.

The motive, matter, and method of the Book,

THese twenty yeares of intestine Wars and broils, principally, if not onely upon the account of Religion, being now happily past, and the tempest ceased upon the return of our great Pilot, whom such winds and seas ought to obey, unto the government of his ship, out of which our unruly passion cast him, to our own great shame and ruine, it is now high time for us to lay our hand upon our heart, and be sober.

An irregular fire of zeal, a meteor-lanthorn, hath led us into lakes and precipices; and there left us. But God forbid, that for the time to come, we should any of us by such deceitful lights be any more misled. And this that we may all heed, as it is the earnest desire of all good Christian spirits; so is it the onely scope and endeavour of this little Book; which I humbly offer and present to the hands of my Countreymen, especially the gentler and more refined natures, of whose favourable acceptance I conceive greater hopes, than from any vulgar eye, which expecting to read the old common places they are fore-acquainted with, and in the usuall tract and method of them, will, I fear, when they misse here of both, like of nothing. But Gentlemen, by their highnesse of birth and education, have put on other affections; and doe sometimes more heed a plain rationall discours unto a commendable end, though destitute

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gute of all guard but its own single reason, than the ordinary large retinue of authorities and texts, which may indeed much strengthen and adorn a Book, but hinder a Reader in his progress. And generally they dislike any new Book, that differs no otherwise from former ones, than a new Moon from an old one.

These past times between 1640. and 1660. and the horror of them, wherein we were afraid even to think, and that in our private closets, I intend not here to speak of: for posterity, should I write true and fully, would never believe it; if false or imperfectly, the present age, eye-witness of the truth would slight it. Besides I would not willingly now offend any, whom I have been aforetime so hugely afraid of in the Land. Charity also towards my neighbour persuades me, that the Long Parliament and all their adherents had an appearance of some great good before their eyes, which they were not able to wield: For when they had all under their feet, that might any wayes oppose or hinder their design, yet could they not then ever bring to passe any of the specious things they made pretence of, the great welfare of our Kingdom, settlement of Religion, Liberty of Conscience, and freedom of the Subject: unto all which their actions were so contrary all these twenty years together, that no man could discern by their doings, that they did so much as mean any such thing. Whether it were, that they did indeed never sincerely intend, or were not able to compassse, or by severall concurrences of affairs, were diverted and jussed from that end, unto wayes utterly opposite both to our good and their own too.

I was ever of opinion all the while, that the account of Religion, as the case stands, needed not, of all other things, so highly to incense us, one against another, unto such injurious outrages, as past amongst us; and found in my heart severall times to put Pen to Paper, and utter my mind: but I was retarded by the two reasons, of my own
small

small ability, and my Countreys indisposition at that time to such discours. But now people seem more calmly disposed, and my self somewhat bettered by reading more Books of *Quakers*, *Anabaptists*, *Presbyterians*; and by the society of these and severall others, *Wellwillers*, *Seekers*, *Atheists*, *Philosophers*. The Books of *Roman-Catholics* I had perused and digested aforehand: our *Protestant* Religion I understood long ago, being born and bred in that way. So that an exact knowledg of all I am to speak, together with my long observing experience, will I hope somewhat supply my other wants.

One thing encourages me not a little to this enterprize. I have frequently observed, that it is not alwayes a store either of Eloquence, Learning or Wisdom, that strikes a stroke in asswaging differences; but such a hidden cause sometimes, in the words and gestures of persons, as we may rather call it chance, than any thing else. I have my self pacified neighbours, even in their hottest dissensions, when others of greater wisdom and acquaintance have prevailed lesse. So that I have thereupon concluded, that these kind of feuds against charity, may have in them somewhat of the property of the *Tarantulaes* stings, which be cured not by the best musick, but the fittest.

Another thing is: that I never yet heard of any, that endeavoured to allay our religious distempers by the generall lights I go upon: without which notwithstanding every one will remain so fixed in his own way, that little good can be wrought; as by daily experience we find it true. The Prince of all topicks in the allaying of these kind of combustions, is that of *Virgil* ---- *Sed motos praestat componere fluctus*. Controversies be written on this side and that; invective defiance made on all sides without end; confutations of Sects bitter enough every where; objections and replies endlesse; some for Papists, some against them; some against our Protestants, some for them; some by Presbyterians; some by Anabaptists; some by

Quakers against all ; some by all sorts against the Quakers. But all these kind of disputes be so far from quenching, that they adde still more fuel to the fire, and make it both to flame more vehement, and last longer, and spread farther ; whiles every one remains so inveigled and addicted to his own way, that he execrates all the rest ; and cannot let fall a good word for any , or acknowledge a truth in them. But Popery, the devil of Popery, we are so transported with the hatred of it, that we could tear it in pieces with our teeth. My dislike therefor of such mistakes and ungrounded rancour, and the love I bear to a right understanding urge me to attempt, what I see in this way few others go about, a mitigation of groundlesse, but dangerous animosities. I had the very same good purpose, when I wrote the *Reclaimed Papist* ; but Satan hindered me in that : And I am resolved now once more again for the good of my Countrey which I dearly love, to try if I can compasse it another way.

But I am finally inflamed to this work by a sight of his *Majesties* most gracious Speech, together with the Lord *Chancellours*, unto the two Houses of Parliament, upon their adjournment in *September 1660.* where one may evidently see our Sovereigns most earnest, and even groaning desire of a moderate and prudent comportment in this Land, one of us towards another, according to the dictates of our Christianity and right reason, in these matters of Religion ; together with a promise of his utmost endeavour to our generall satisfaction, if we in the interim could but have patience and charity one towards another, till he may understand how to please us all. Could wisdom and goodnesse it self desire aught of us, that might either be more facil, or rational, or more pleasing, than that we should be good to our selves ! And who would not endeavour to his power, what he sees so great a Prince desires, as a thing necessary to the welfare of our Land ; which, for want of this moderation, hath been lately so miserably harassed and undone,

My

My Lord Chancellours words upon his Majesties suggestion are these. *There are two other particulars which I am commanded to mention ; which were both mentioned and commended unto you by his Majesty in his Declaration from Breda : the one for confirmation of sales or other recompence for purchases ; the other for the composing of those differences and distempers in Religion, which have too much disturbed the peace of the Kingdoms. Two very weighty particulars, &c. For the first, his Majesty hath not been without much thought, &c. The other of Religion is a sad argument indeed. It is a consideration that must make every religious heart to bleed ; to see Religion, which should be the strongest obligation and ciment to affection and brotherly kindnesse and compassion, made now by the perverse wranglings of passionate and froward men, the ground of all animosity, hatred, malice and revenge. And this unruly and unmanly passion, which no question but the divine nature exceedingly abhorres, sometimes, and I fear too frequently, transports those who are in the right, as those who are in the wrong. &c.*

These be the Learned Chancellours words (set down more at large in the last Section of my Book) so grave and pathetical, that if they were seriously pondered as they deserv, might suffice to put us to a stand even in the highestt career of our most uncharitable animosities, upon Religions account. How many wayes does the honourable Oratour turn himself to move us to our own welfare ; how wisely does he select his topicks, how sweetly unites, how vigourously presses, *ab essentialibus, ab effectibus, à contrariis, ab inconvenientibus, à dissimilibus, &c.* to this effect.

“ Religion is the ciment of affection : must or can that
 “ be the ground of malice ? Surely that is an evil passion,
 “ by what ever name it be intitled, that transports as well
 “ those that are in the right, as those who are in the wrong,
 “ unto effects in every right judgement Injurious and
 “ hatefull

" hatefull to the Divine nature. Not strangers, but allies
 " and friends, and men otherwise of most agreeable na-
 " tures, under this colour of Religion, and by it, become
 " first unfociable, then uncharitable ; first half friends,
 " then full foes ; not for any harm either of word or deed,
 " but onely a disparity of thoughts, such thoughts too as
 " concern not one another, but onely passe betwixt man
 " and his Maker : nor is it because one man will not, but
 " because he cannot think as another doth. And God
 " himself must patronize these our uncharitable divisions,
 " while purely for his sake we hate one another heartily.
 " We hate even to death, such as otherwise be our dearest
 " friends, for his sake, and upon his account, who com-
 " mands us to love our enemies ; and enmity is our utmost
 " profession in the managing of his Religion, who told us
 " himself, that the fulfilling of his whole Law is Love. The
 " Primitive Christians were in all judgements good ones,
 " and yet their badge and practice quite contrary to ours.
 " Theirs was love and peace even to the admiration of their
 " enemies, ours hatred and war even to the confusion of our
 " friends ; they died for, we by one another ; they by the
 " virtue of their Religion cimented together, who before by
 " affection and blood stood far divided, we by ours doe se-
 " parate in all we were before conjoynd ; theirs made
 " new friendship, ours dissolves the old. But when the
 Honourable Chancellour addes in the close, *This disqui-*
sition hath cost the King many a sigh, many a sad hour :
 What honest heart would not at that word be ready to
 burst asunder ? Is that great Princely innocence contri-
 stated by my self ruinous disorder ? Far be it from me to
 sadden that Royall breast, in which the Almighty sits, and
 swayes over me for my good.

My Reader, be pleased to understand, that I intend not
 directly in this my Discourse, to justifie or judg any o-
 pinion ; but onely to show that wars and enmities upon
 such an account between neighbours, is neither pious, nor
 rationall,

rationall. But the acroamatick part, which would prove our contentions about Religion to be irrationall, fills up the Book; the morall, which shows them to be unconformable to true piety and virtue, is compendiously finished in the concluding Paragraff. And if I doe let fall words, that may favour any one opinion or way, more than another, it is onely for this end, that I may thereby allay the heats of the other side which is intemperately set against it; if to depresse any, it is to abate the excessive both conceit we have of it, and faction for it, without any just cause: that so the oppressed may be a little eased and raised up, and the oppressour checkt by his own conscience; which is the onely way of introducing equality of thoughts and unanimity amongst us. And when we are once perswaded to think more moderately of that side we have hitherto hated, and to discern some uncertainty in the other, we so much dote upon in this Land; so that our affection may rise, where before it was too low, and where it was too high, there begin to fall, that a smoothnesse and equability may appear once in us; then we shall be pretty well disposed to a right understanding and peace. *St. John Baptist* the great Precursor of the worlds *Messias*, whose office was to prepare mankind to receive him, had nothing else to doe for that purpose, but onely this very thing: As if this kind of smoothnesse and equability in mens affections, were the best and onely preparation unto the grace and peace of *Jesus Christ* within us. *The voyce of a Cryer in the desert*, saith the Prophet *Isaias*, *Prepare the way of our Lord, make the wayes level, every valley shall be raised up, and every mountain and hill shall be brought down, and crooked things shall become straights, and rough made smooth; and then all flesh shall see the salvation of God.*

My matter is perceived by the prefixed generall contents of my five Chapters. 1. There is not any colour of reason or just title, to move us to quarrell and judge one another,

another, with so much heat about Religion. 2. All things are so obscure, that no man in prudence can so far presume of his own knowledge, as to set up himself a guide and leader in Religion to his neighbour. 3. No Sect hath any advantage at all over one another, nor all of them together over Popery. 4. All the severall kinds of Religion here in *England* are equally innocent to one another; and Popery, as it stands in opposition to them, is absolutely innocent and unblameable to them all. 5. As there neither is nor can be, any rationall motive for disputes and animosities about matters of Religion: so is there an indispensable morall cause obliging us unto moderation: if namely we do either consider the various incommodities of hatred and rancour, or the large sweetnesse and convenience of charity and peace.

My method I doe purposely conceal, to keep therein a more handsome decorum: For he that goes about to part a fighting fray, cannot observe any clear method in his speech, but must turn himself this way and that, as occasion offers, be it a corporall or mentall duell. So did good *S. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans*, which of all his other Letters, as it hath in it most of solidity, so seems it to have least of method in the Context. The reason is, because it was intended to allay some heats and feuds, that were risen in *Rome* amongst the converted Jewes and Gentiles there; who began after their conversion to upbraid and disable one another (as such childish heats will rite) with their former unworthinesse. The converted Jew esteemed himself the better man; because his Nation was Gods chosen from the beginning, out of which the Messias came, and the Jewes were in a continuall succession both before their conversion to Christianity and after it, still Gods servants. The converted Gentile on the other side maintained, that he had notwithstanding the darknesse of his condition so worthily behaved himself, even by the meer light of reason, that God was pleased of his love he ther-

for

for bore him, to call him to the light of the Gospel, to
 serv that Lord of glory whom the Jewes had crucified.
S. Paul to end this quarrell, turns himself to and fro, first
 on this side, then on the other, as occasion presented it self;
 and finding the parties resolute in a question hard to de-
 cide, as it was stated, and both so deeply engaged, that
 they could not easily be reconciled, that he might the bet-
 ter part them, he knocks them both down: And he dissi-
 pates all pretences of their own worthinesse, to the end
 they might both of them have recourse to Gods mercy,
 which was equally shewed to both; and so have peace a-
 mong themselves.

This is the occasion and end and summe of that Epistle,
 which it seems our Ministers, some of them, doe not un-
 derstand: otherwise they would not cull out of it so many
 various Texts against the Christian Doctrine of good
 Works and their merit, so absolutely impertinent to that
 purpose, that I cannot but be ashamed to see grave men to
 defend the Cause so frivolously. The Works, whose me-
 rit *S. Paul* disables there, were apparently such as were
 done before conversion, of which the abettours would have
 those Works to be the cause, Works acted in Judaisme
 and Paganisme, without Christ who reconciled the world
 to God, without the assistance of his Grace, without his
 Command, without his promise of reward for them, and
 consequently without any value or acceptableness they
 might have upon those grounds. But what is all this to the
 disabling of Christian good Works, done in Christ, by
 his speciall grace, out of obedience to his command, with
 a promise of everlasting reward, and a gracious acceptabi-
 lity thence accrewing. Look if Gospel doe not make out
 Christian merit in this point. See, if it doe not clearly
 speak forth, both Christs word commanding, his grace as-
 sisting, his love accepting, and the riches of his goodnesse
 crowning, all such good Works done in him for his love,
 with eternal reward. *Come ye blessed, for I was hungry, &c.*
 But this onely by the way. The

The occasion then of that sacred Epistle being manifestly to make peace between two stickling barretours, as it required a great judgement and spirit in the Authour to write it well ; so could it admit but little of method in its progresse. And a man may easily discern, that the Apostle turns himself, now against the Jew, then suddenly against the Gentile, then to the Jew again ; still disabling all the utmost, they could either of them doe, or pretend to doe, before their Conversion, as any way of ability and power to merit either it, or the grace and life they had by it. And it is to be noted too ; that whereas the Jew had three times more of plausibility on his side than the Gentile had, St. *PAUL* speaks least against him that was the weakest side and most oppressed : but where he checks the Gentile once, he rebukes the Jew three times, and never lins till he had laid his insulting in the dust. So proper it is to an ingenuous nature to withhold the strong domineering party, that the weaker and oppressed may gather a little heart, and discern himself at least in as good a posture, as his Antagonist. Now my purpose, sith it is very like that of the good Apostle, I shall not, I hope, be blamed for imitating so great a Doctour in his method.

And although to every one of my five Chapters I do adjoyn some generall contents : yet are they not to be looked upon as confined to that place ; but that other matters will in each Chapter and its severall Paragraphs occurre ; and also those very contents be elsewhere hinted at : For I doe intermingle my topicks, according as they seemed at any time conducing to the right understanding I aim at ; which I have done on purpose to keep up the appetite, and refresh it with variety. So in tastes an *Olla* hath that good rellish, which all the things contained in it, without that generall mixture and seasoning, would never have apart. My Reader will see also, that some things are but slightly touched, which he would think ought to have been more seriously prosecuted ; some again he will imagine too prolix ;

lix; others too often to appear and too suddenly to vanish, like *Virgils Ghost*, *Omnibus umbra locis adero*: and all so interwoven, that in one Paragraff it can hardly be guessed what is to be handled in the next. These and other such things, which some may dislike, I have a reason for; and I hope my reader, whose profit and pleasure I onely wait upon, will give me leave to use it. A seasonable gentle air invites men abroad, whom a strong wind would have kept within doors: And I hope this my familiar Discourse may move some of my Countreymen, who would not have looked upon solid and studied controversies, to read, and perhaps recover that good disposition of mind I wish them, even with their own pleasure and good liking, Our Land this last twenty yeares hath been in a Chaos of confusion, a *Tohu* and *Bohu*, without either form or order; and we all find our selves in a mist, in a wood, in a darknesse almost invincible, by our severall divisions and subdivisions of parties in the way of Faith. But I hope, that by the help of this Discourse, which is intended as a generall light unto all Books, Sermons, and Controversies, whereby people are drawn into so many severall distracting opinions, we shall find the way out; at least know where we are. My order and phrase be suited to the present times; but the matter and purpose concealed in it, of a lasting concernment: *Qui legit intelligat*. This is all I have to pefate; and I wish no more, but truth and peace to all, and to the whole Israel of God.



C H A P. I.

There is no colour of reason or just title may move us to quarrell and judge one another with so much heat about Religion.

§. I. Diversity of feuds.

THe applause and honour of this world is a thing very pleasing to all persons, from the Prince in the Court to the Peasant in the Cottage; even as Wealth and Place, by which it is achieved. Nor is there one of a thousand that follows not the inclination, to the end he may attain it in that degree his condition is capable; And they get it, some by chance of Birth and Education, some by Industry and Worth, some by Subtilty and Wit. Hence proceed those many high attempts, we so much wonder at in this world, such attempts I mean, as are apt to lead the vulgar into a fit of admiration; as be the two great excellencies of power and knowledge, and their great achievements; that for defence of Lawes and Kingdomes, this for the adornment of Nations, and purer pleasures of more refined intellects. And both of these have many branches and kinds; and each hath a diversity of graduall perfections. He that cannot sway a Province, will tyrannize in his Parish; and will, if he cannot appear abroad, domineer at least in his own House. So likewise on the other side, what glory the emulous Plebeian sees given to higher spirits, for sciences they cannot reach, or for a supervisorship of Religion, they may not hope for; this, by the contempt of the one, and reformation of the other, doe they go about to compass in the world; first by words and Pen, if they can Write, then, if they multiply and grow

grow strong enough, by rude force and violence. And still the pretens for all is cleanly, and fair washed over; that applaus and glory may both accompany, strengthen, and crown the design.

What strange things have been attempted by Emperours, and great Captains and Commanders upon Earth, all Histories make mention; and it is a pleasant speculation to consider it. But the method and severall wayes of enhancing fame, by inventions and discoveries of truths, prosecuted by contemplative heads, what and how various they have been in the Pagan world, we may in part gather out of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Lucretius*, *M. Tullius Cicero*, and some other few monuments yet kept amongst us. What they have been in the Christian world lives more fresh in our memories. But these are of two sorts; one in explication and defence of faith, against all opposition possible to be made by any kind of adversaries, Jew, Heretick, or Pagan. And this hath been the employment of most sublime Eagles that ever the Christian Church hath had. *S. Austin*, *Magister sententiarum*, *Aleusis*, *S. Thomas Aquinas*, *Bonaventure*, *Gandavenfis*, *Scorus*, and the like. The other in opposition to faith: which rose up in severall ages, for the exercise of his mystick Body, who was in his own person, not onely opposed by outward adversaries, but deserted by his own.

I love those eminent Pagan Wits. And this commendation they have, that they are our first masters in all our Sciences; that they performed what they undertook to write, most solid, acute, and exactly, both for judgment, clearnesse and method; and thirdly, that they confuted one another, being divided in opinions as well as we, as it was expedient they should be, not in reviling words, as we Christians doe, but in sober and purest reason. Although the arguments of their discours inferred sometimes very little to the confutation of an adversary; because, they often proceeded upon severall princi

ples not ever rightly understood, or at least for more particular advantage wilfully mistaken.

And in this method of sobriety doe our two great Schollars, the Civil Lawyer and the Physician write, when they put forth Treatises either one body of Art against another, as the *Galenist* against the *Spagirick*, or one member and person in particular against another in the same body. So likewise did our subtile Schoolmen proceed five hundred years ago, with no lesse sweetnesse of spirit than profoundnesse of reason; whose intencion was to explicate and defend Christianity even in the way of *Aristotles* Philosophy, by which the Pagans had for a thousand years opposed it, to the much prejudice of Christian Religion, which the Priests and Doctours of ancient times would not undertake to defend by a Philosophy they found so much tending to atheism, and in so many things false: that is to say, contrary to the principles and faith they had received from *Jesus*, whose word they preferred before all the Philosophers reasons in the world.

These Schoolmen divided into divers branches, by occasion of a severall interpretation of *Aristotle*, either in the way of *S. Thomas* of *Aquin* the *Dominican*, whose Doctrine for the most part was followed in *Cambridge*, or of subtile *Scotus* the *Franciscan*, whose Chair was at *Oxford*. And in other parts of the Christian world, they had their Chairs erected, according either as chance or favour pleased. But all was then done with no lesse exact charity, than sublime reason. For they had nothing else to doe in their Schools, but onely by argument and disputation, to try the grounds and solutions, whether if a Pagan himself, or other antagonist, whose person every opponent represents, should dispute against them, they could then be able to come off in their defensions with applaus and honour, and without prejudice of their Faith, in that field of Reason.

But when we come to view the opposite judgements in
matters

matters of Religion commonly called heresies, especially in this last age, the rest before these dayes having perished by the prevalency of the Church, against which all the rest bandied together; these as they be very grosse and homely disputes, so are they managed on the opposites side with so much unseemly behaviour, such unmanly expressions, that discreet sobriety cannot but loath, and abhor to read them. Not reason but defiance, not charity but execrations, not subtilities but downright defamations, not civil respect but vilest disesteem, not cool perswasion but precipitous condemnation fills each page we look on; and fire and stones fly about, where meeknes, peace and charity should appear.

And all these Religion-disputes whether we consider the subject they are about, or the manner they are handled, or the distracting variety into which they run, concerning faith revealed, which can be but one, I doe not see what other effect they can have upon mankind, but to subvert all civil respect and charity, and good manners, and Lawes, and Kingdomes where they come. For no man is content, if he pretend to have discovered a new way of Religion, unlesse all other men embrace it; and Presse and Pulpit must ring with loud cries against all that doe not, be they neighbours or superiours, untill the Sword it self be sharpened in our hands for Battle. Thus beginning with the spirit, we end in the flesh.

It is not my meaning to interpose in any particular controversie, whose multitude hath already made the world to nauseate; but to hold up my discours in such generall terms, as I shall think may serve, if we lay our hands upon our heart, and ponder them with a Christian seriousness, so many of us as be now uncharitably bent against our neighbour, somewhat to allay and mitigate the many flaming heats of discord raging here in *England*, as much, or rather more, than in any other Countrey, for opinions concerning Faith; which as they are taken up at first up-

on self-conceit and interest, as experience hath sufficiently shown; so are they all upon rules of Christian virtue and prudence, if we ever mean to be happy, to be deposed. Be not *many* Masters; for where all would sway, there none obey: and so ruin and mischief must needs follow.

The difficulty is, I know not how to expresse the Parties in this *Religion-feud*, that I may not offend. For so bitterly is each side bent against the other, that they will not endure to have them called by their own names. But I should notwithstanding deem it not onely a civility, but a due debt, so to doe. For that is every ones name, by which himself will be called, and not what an enemy gives him. The *Protestant* is such a one, and so to be named, though his foe on one side surname him *Papist*, and his adversary on the other call him *Heretick*. So the *Catholick* likewise, by his junior foe is called *Papist*, by his elder enemy, a *Galilean*. And altho he may if he will, yet I do not think him bound, to answer either to that appellation or this: And therfor, if I behave my self civilly towards him, I can use neither.

And as it is for nomination of persons; so likewise for the verities of their opinions. No party will endure, that any one truth of the other side should be acknowledged; and he that shall do it, will be looked upon as a common enemy by the rest. In so much danger is even ordinary neighbourhood and civility amongst us, when these feuds are once raised. I have known good *Protestants* endangered, these times of our civil wars, for calling their neighbour, of whom they had occasion to speak, by the name of *Catholick*, whereas according to the usuall language of the feud, he should have said *Papist*. So strangely are we incensed in these matters. Even our good nature is changed: For *Englishmen* have been thought, in the opinion even of foreign Nations, the fairest conditioned and best natured people in *Europe*, whereas now these religious feuds have made us I may say the very worst. The

Hollan-

Hollander, what a kind of man he is by nature, it is well enough known ; and yet in this piece of prudence and civility he excells us beyond compare. Their Towns doe often exhibit in one and the same street : here a *Jew*, there a *Christian*, *Lutheran*, *Calvinist*, or *Catholick* ; and yet all these converse together without any rancour or misprision at all, heeding without any thought or consideration of their opinions, onely the moderation and common honesty they use in their contracts, and other conversation, which if it be good, all is well that concerns neighbours, for the rest let God judge. And in every House they serve God, each one in his own way undisturbedly, without fear of penal Law, danger of pillaging, vexation of Pursuivant, harrassing of Souldier, any ill looks, or maledictions, or heart-burnings at all upon that account. This comportment is more manlike, it is more Christian, it is far more gentile and honourable than the contrary, in the judgment of any discreet sober man in the world : And yet in other respects that be commendable, how far doth the *Englishman* exceed the *Hollander* ! No Nation is ignorant of that.

Witty observing Travellers have noted, that all other Kingdomes besides ours, can admit of severall opinions or reformatiōs, without hazarding their Wits : but we, and onely we in *England* lose ours : The testimony is too true. Indeed to undermine the place and dignity of such as maintain an old Religion or Science, is a piece of some kind of ingeniousnesse or industry ; but to doe it with rancour, disturbance and ruin, this carries with it neither ingenuity, nor any reason at all. If the thing be good, by a supervening hatred and uncharitablenesse, the good work is infected ; if it be ill, the malignity is doubled. But charity, as it gives a new life to virtue, so doth it cover a multitude of sins.

The noise and tumults that be in the world, are partly about things known, partly about things unknown ; ac-

cordingly as men apply their spirits to the one, or the other: the intent and aim of all men in these their hearts, being in truth, whatever they pretend, no other thing, but an affectation of power and tyranny over other men.

The known things about which we do so much contend, are reduced by a wise man unto three heads; *Concupiscence of Flesh*, *Concupiscence of Eyes*, and *Pride of Life*: where by an usuall metonymy is the object expressed by the act. And he addes, that this is all the world contains; namely in order to the worldly or sensuall mans desire. For a worldly temptation must needs be one of these; and about some of these is all our worldly emulations conversant, the concernment either of our pleasures, wealth, or honour. Unto *Concupiscence of Flesh* belongs all that is apt to please the lower senses of *Touch*, *Taste*, and *Smell*; which be versed in the more tangible employments of nutrition, vegetation, and generation. This is the lower region of man. To *Concupiscence of the Eyes*, all that may delight the upper senses of *sight* and *hearing*; as gold, silver, chains, jewels, costly attires, dresses, furnitures of rooms, delicious walks and gardenings, musick, applaus of men, and the like: This is the middle region. To *Pride of Life*, the things that tickle the inward senses and *imagination*, which is the upper region of sensuall man: as great titles, large retinue, offices and command of state, with all worldly superiority. These are the things that inflame mankind to so many combustions in this world: each man thrusting forward and crowding to be first, in that he proposes to himself as the object of his chief content. The feud began with the world, and will not wholly cease, so long as it lasteth in its present state of corruption: though it hath been in some times and places much mitigated by virtue of a Religion, which *Jesus* our Lord planted upon earth, on very purpose to slake this hellish fire.

And it is to be observed, that the *Tempter*, as it is recorded by one of the Evangelists, assaulted even the very
sacred

sacred person of our *Lord* himself, with one of all these three temptations; according as he thought meet, to make choise of som one of each, that might best correspond unto such a conceived person, in those circumstances of time and place, he either found or put him in. He found him in the desert hungry: and there, *Command that these Stones be made bread*, as it was a temptation of *carnal concupiscence*, most befitting the time and place; so is it of that kind such a one, as might seem least unbefitting such a person, being of all the most innocent, especially to a hungry man. He set him upon the battlements of a high Church, in the face of a populous City, who might behold and admire at his miraculous preservation and sanctity; and there *falla te deorsum, leap down*, was a temptation belonging to *concupiscence of eyes* in order to vulgar applause, and very proper to that place. Nor would it appear notoriously evil, to do such a thing in the face of the multitude, who seeing his safety might look upon him ever after with greater honour and respect, as Lord of the very Angels, who stood about to guard him in so dangerous a precipice. In the prospect of the world, *All these things will I give thee*, was a congruous temptation, and clearly pertinent to *pride of life*: but joined with a condition manifestly sinful, which was wanting in the two former, *If thou wilt fall down and worship me*. This the enemy annexed here, not so much out of any hopes he could have, to bring that person to such a sin, whose constancy he had already tried; as to speak forth and express the ordinary way, by which men do generally arrive unto their height of dignities, wealth and honour in this world. They dissemble, they sacrifice their conscience, they bow their heads, they fall down and worship *Satan*, and so take from him their livery and seisin, their *Hæc omnia tibi dabo*.

What heats are raised about these things in the world betwixt man and man, in City and Countrey, so thick, so general in all places, to set down with pen and Ink it is

impossible, they are so many; and also superfluous, they be so obvious unto all men. And from whence are all these wars intestine and forreign, domestick and civil, personal and national, be they not from our *Concupiscence*? It is not to be denied. And so long as ther is *Concupiscence* in the world, these things will be, or at least a motion towards them. Nor is it my present purpos to dissuade any thing in this kind, after the endeavours of so many thousand sacred persons, Apostles, Prophets, and Doctours, who have both by their example and doctrin, endeavoured incessantly the eradication of this sinful weed. But happy is that man in whom the three-fold members of *Concupiscence*, are becom, through his care and industry over himself, either quite dead, or at least expiring. For he only lives, and lives like a man, and is free, and rightly disposed to the noble and manly works of justice, sobernes, and piety.

The other noises about things invisible, which I here consider, are the many clashing opinions about God and Religion. An empty airy business, as I think ere long will appear, a ghostly fight, a skirmish of shadows, or horsemen in the clouds. And yet 'tis prodigious to speak, what real heart-burnings, what deadly rancour it breeds in mens minds, and what a deluge of mischief it causes in the world. It is a thing I have often and deeply considered, not without horror and commiseration.

The result of my thoughts herin, is thus much. Surely, ther is something invisible over man, and stronger and more politick than he, that does this contumely to mankind; that casts in these apples of contention amongst us; that hisses us to war and battle, as waggish boyes do dogs in the street, which being once set on, tear and devour one another, upon no other caus or motive, than that impulsion. For how els could it possibly com to pass, that a company of men, altogether unknown to one another in several places, languages, constitutions, employments, ages, and educa-

educations, should all of a suddain, no man knows how, rise up, conspire, and jump together in a conceit before unheard of, and to all other men besides themselves improbable, so unanimous and vigorously, as to put all to a hazard for its defence and propagation, will nor nill the whole world that may dislike it, with such a heat of earnestnes, as is never seen to appear in any known good thing. Can this be any thing els, than an impression made upon us by som invisible substance or *Damon*, that by this alery phantome inflames us one against another, to our utter worrying and destruction, unto whom our deadly feuds arising thereon, may haply give no less content and sport, than dogs fighting in the streets, to wanton boys that set them on. This we may suspect at least. And if we do, it should methinks make our pens and weapons drawn for the maintenance of our fanfy, fall out of our unwary hands. And is it otherwayes possible, that any faction in the world should not have the capacity to think, that as they judg and condemn all the world beside themselves, so also by all the rest of the world are they themselves judged. And can they not see it, as ridiculous in themselves to judg, as in another whose judgment they contemn: and as easily suspect themselves, as they do censoriously disesteem their neighbour; whom they cannot but acknowledg, to be in many things their equals, their elders oftentimes in age, superiour haply in naturall parts, more eminent in birth and breeding, equally subjects of our common Creatour, and haply in som civil respects their betters. Is not this prodigious? And unto what can it rationally be attributed, but som malign substance invisible, that makes a fool of mankind? Are not men blasted? Are they not enchanted? I should think nothing els can be said for it. And therfor do they run and fling, and turn up tail, and snuff the wind, and hoof-beat the earth, and bellow to battle, as if they were stung with gad-flies. But let us use moderation. God dwells not in a Whirl-wind. If every one would
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but once begin to suspect himself, as in all prudence he may, the business were half ended, a right understanding very forwardly on, and the corn even white for harvest.

§. 2. *Nullity of title.*

FOR the things of this world why men should contend so much, the reason is enough apparent: we live, and our being is supported by them. Nor is it an easie thing, especially if men do not apply themselves unto very serious consideration, to distinguish between things necessary and superfluous, or to know when we have enough; the ignorance whereof urges us to very many both unnecessary troubles and solitudes within our selves, and illegal contentions with our neighbours, to the breach of charity and peace. And ther is hardly a man past tutelage, but knows whence these heats arise both in himself and other men.

But that we should struggle so much about opinions of Religion, even unto blood and utter ruin sometime of whole Kingdoms, except it be don in order to the things of this world, wherein we labour by such means for a greater share than otherwise would happen to us, or that the wicked fiend is in it, no satisfactory reason in the world can be given.

For tell me, I pray you Sir, that struggle so much and so earnestly for the propagation of your way, lately chalked out by your brain; what good is it, that I should think as you do? Is it for your own interest, or for mine? If your own, I am not bound to serv your fancy, or inflave my understanding to your pleasur; if for mine, I thank you for your good will, but refuse your service. Although you may have a thought concerning God or natur, perhaps better than mine, if I have any, or worth my hearing, if I have none in that kind, yet can you not rationally think, either that you are bound in justice to communicate it unto me, or I to embrace it? Ther is nothing but
charity

charity to urge you, which is neither obstinate, nor seditious. Nor doth any law of justice oblige me to accept of your favour, if you offer it: Sith every one stands as free in himself either to refuse or accept a good turn proffered by another, as that other to present it. Will you urge and force me to be of your opinion, which perhaps I look upon, either as of no concernment at all to me, or fals? And who made me your vassail? So great a vassail as to command my thoughts; and those too, which are versed not about your self or me, but our common Creatour, and his works and providence; which if they be rectified in you, by any light to me unknown, enjoy your own happines, I envy it not. Leav me to my self, as I do you, and do not importunately, against the very laws of right reason, obtrude a courtesy upon him that likes it not, nor thinks it so. Had you any true charity for me, you would not disturb my peace, which even in your own judgement is one of our greatest goods, for an opinion of yours, which you cannot but see, to be in my judgement of so little value. Let it be what it will, a forced favour is an affront. Force but a dog, to eat or drink, when he has not a list to it, and you will soon see how wrathfully that very poor beast will take that your courtesy so unseasonable and unwelcom to him.

Are not you and I worms of the earth both of us, and equally subject unto that sours of light which is above? Why then should you go about to urge me to take my influence from your body, which is of no less opacity than mine own? You are inlightned, you say, and have received a truth, which I want. First, you are assured no more than my self, that it is a truth: and although you may think you be, one mans word is in this thing I am sure as good as anothers. And if you have received it, and it be such, can you not be happy alone, as well in this as other things; or permit your neighbour to walk as well naked of truth, as clothes, or other necessities, which you will never thrust upon any, although your self never so much abound, and
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he need. If I do want your truth, this want, if it be any harm, it is mine own, not yours. But let it be a truth received, is therfor all the whole cours and order of the Univers changed? Why may not I have that light, if any such thing it be, from that general superiour caus, whence you received it? It cannot be wrought in me without him, why may it not by him without you, as well in me as your self? How are you becom of a sudden unto me a star of influence, who was the other day a portion of the same earth and darkne's with me?

But now you begin to be angry, that I will not admit of the happines you bring me. Are you so indeed? then by your favour, your proposition was made to me not from charity, but pride; not unto my good, but slavery. Becaus I am really perhaps above you, ther must be a trick invented to bring me under in conceit; and to captivate his understanding, who is in power and ability your betters. Thus shall you get a dignity by the shadow of your fanisy, where you could not appear by any demonstration of reall and apparent worth. But now grown more wroth, you call me *bruit* beast, and *dog*, and *imp* of darknes: and so you break forth out of the cloud you walked in, and the sheepskin broken, the true face of a Wolf is seen. You offered to give to me, in hopes I should therupon fall down and worship; upon my refusal you claw me with your curses. A sign, that your proposal was not for my good but your own, to work a glory not in me but over me, and to boast your self in my conquest. If you had been born my Prince, you could not have commanded my thoughts; do you think by commanding them, to make your self one? Content your self. Puffing gusts of new fanisies under what pretens soever they com, new *reason*, new *light*, or new *revelation* in any particular person, are by their very violence to be suspected. When I hear any to censur all mankind, and to disparage all judgments but his own, I begin then to think wors of his, than all others. For true knowledge waiks not
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with universal contempt. If the way be indeed of God, peace and meeknes will accompany it, at least in the first teacher. God resides not in tempests; nor does even he himself force mans will. The very Gospel and volumn of our Christianity was not thrust upon us, but gently put into our hands, upon our own good liking by perswasion of miracles, and words of peace.

I suppose we are severed, you and I, as well in soul, as body; nor is my soul any more than body, any part of you. How comes it then, that being so careles of my body, which you do see, you are so zealous of my soul, you see not? You are no more to answer for me hereafter in another life, than you eat and drink for me in this; nor partake there more than here, either of my weal or woe. But your charity urges you forsooth, for my future good. And how comes it then so dead and senceles of my present welfare. Ther be many waies of help you might afford me in this life, in order to my welbeing in it: if you heed me not in all these distresses, which you see I feel, what esteem can I have of your pretended wellwishes in a state imaginary abroad? For charity if it be true, begins at home.

I have reason to think, that God is as good to me as he is to you, and will afford me as many helps of light and reason, as another man: if not, he hath left me at least in my own power to choos my guide, which shall be such a one; as I shall judg aforehand, to be wiser than my self. All vassailage is against natur. And when any man enters upon it on his own accord, it is upon som hopes of a fore-deemed greater good, than without it he could have had. But it cannot be so thought, without an imagined precdency in the guide we fix upon. Ther is no captivity more eminent than that of the understanding; which therfor is of all others to be most spontaneous and rational, and without either temerity or force. But it is rashness in me and not reason, to trust my self to the conduct of a man, I know to be as ignorant as my self, and destitute of all au-
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tority over me in those affairs, without either conviction of reason, or motive of miracle. And for him to raise any mutiny against me, thereby to compell to the obedience of his thoughts, whom he hath no reasons to perswade, is a force too too brutish, and contrary to all lawes both of God and reason.

I may indeed, if I pleas, submit to your direction : but can I do this in reality and earnest, unles beforehand I conceive more of wisdom to be resident in you, than I find to be in my self ? Can any Pilgrim yield up himself to the guidance of a person, he has no reason to think more skillfull in the waies than himself is. And if upon his refusall to follow, that person should offer violence, and either drag him by force into the way himself shewes, or offer to cut his throat for refusall, would you esteeme such a directour to be the Pilgrims friend, or a thief and robber. Becaus you cannot maister my thoughts, and make me a vassail to your conceits, which I am so far from judging rational, that I cannot but think them both impious and senseles ; you will therefor take upon you to maister my estate and life : and perhaps only to effect this, you pretend the other, What is this but robbery and murder commenced upon a pretens of charity ? Ther be som theeves in the world that will not assault a traveller, till they have offered him, as a preparative to their convenience, the sight of som curiosity to stand and demurr upon. I heard once of an honest traveller, who in this manner gave thirty peices of gold, for a hare offered him in his journey by a seeming countrey man to buy for his supper ; choosing rather against his judgment, to make such a market, than to die for his obstinacy. But is this a good and commendable violence ? Shall we praise these actions, or do like to them ? God forbid.

You look upon me as an accursed thing without the belief and light you walk by : And why so ? What if I think the like of you, for that very light and belief you boast of ?

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If I do it not, learn vertue of me, that so you may the sooner perswade me to com to you for knowledg. And how coms it to pass you do so look upon me? Are you a Christian? So am I. Have you meditated seriously upon the promises of the Gospel, and hopes of a future resurrection? I have done so too: have you lived justly, soberly and piously in this world, expecting our blessed hopes in the coming of our Lord Jesus in glory? I do the same: and if I may speak one word *secundum insipientiam*, perhaps more, in mortification more frequent, more abounding in charity, more constant in the integrity of all my dealings, more chaste and sober, less intangled in this present world, or any affections thereof, more affected to my Maker and Redeemer, and I am perswaded, that God doth inhabit and dwell within me. Why then do you trouble me? He was of another spi it, who said, *Si quis aliter sentit, Deus ipsi & hoc revelabit*. He that never judged amiss in points of Religion, had so much meekness in him, as to conceit, if any one in this or that particular, thought otherwis than himself, that God either had or would reveal it him, and so abstained from censuring; whereas you condemn all men that think not as you do, who for aught I know think aright of nothing.

The very true belief and right judgment of things, whence is it, or how com we by it? If it be mans own operation, you cannot tell but that I have it. If it be Gods work, you cannot blame me, if I have it not; his gifts are free and dispensed as himself pleases. Am I in fault, or do I deserv to be vexed and harrassed by my neighbour, because the Kings Majesty hath not given me a chain of gold? Whether he hath promised it or no, I am sure the performance is only in his hand, and my duty being don I cannot in justice be either checkt or beaten, for default of the donary, which is com only from above. And if my King or God detain it, it is a vertue in me to be resigned, and think he hath a reason for it, altho I know it not; and that

that I have it not, may be indeed my misery, but not my fault.

S. *Paul* having severely chid the people of *Corinth*, in his first Letter he wrote to them, for their many disorders, and som such like dissensions, though in a far inferiour degree, as ours in *England* be, and their great obstinacy and feuds therupon, with variety of pious rhetoric upon every subject they so contentiously disagreed in, insinuated at last; that whatsoever they might pretend, for those their various Schismes, from the power and Spirit of God, even as we here do, yet God was not indeed and really amongst them at all. *For God*, saith he, *is not the God of dissension but of peace*. And then he addes a great Oracle, which he left behind him for after ages, to stop all dissentious feuds, that might ever arise in any people about the preeminence of doctrine in Christianity, wherein each one may pretend to be chiefest guide. *An à vobis*, saith he, *verbum Dei processit, an in vos solos pervenit*? Did the word of God proceed from you, or unto you only did it com? As if he should have said: You have no reason, you people of *Corinth*, to stand so much upon your opinions in matters of Religion, or to contest so hotly about them, to your mutual disparagement and breach of peace; sith the Gospel and Word of God neither came from any of you, nor yet did it com only to you, that any of you should thereby, and otherwise it could not be, presume to be teacher of the rest, in opinions and ways they cannot in their reason approve, unles they should prefer your authority before it. Here then is prescribed a most oraculous rule, both to know, whence the right Christian truth is to be deduced in any matter of doubt, and whose conduct is to be rejected, whatever light or knowledg any one may pretend by way of priviledg, for the obtaining over other men the preeminence of a guide or leader. That man, or those people, who can rightly challenge a power of leading other men in a way of Religion, must be such and only such, as either the Word
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of God came from, or unto whom alone the word of God came. And it must needs in reason be so. For who should teach us in any science, or resolve any doubts arising in it, but the master who first shewed it, if any such can be found, or which at first professed it. I ask then all these our religious duellists, both *Anabaptist* and *Quaker*, *Presbyterian* and *Protestant* : Did the word of God *com from* you, or came it *unto you* alone ? And unto which of you did it first com, or from which, that we may adhere unto that party without dispute. He *from* whom it came, must have the primary guidance over all : and he *unto* whom it first came, must carry a secondary presidentship over all such as be derived from him. But which of you is it, that can pretend to either. That it came not alone, to either *Puritan* or *Protestant*, is evidently apparent : sith by the testimony of the Apostle it went forth unto all the ends of the earth : and indeed our own experience and knowledge of several Kingdoms that be Christian, would sufficiently witness that without any testimony at all. That it came not forth *from* either of them, is as manifest as the other ; sith the word and Gospel of Christ was in the world, and in this very Kingdom, many ages before any of those wayes were extant : The *Puritan* with all their factions, found that word here in *England* in the hands of the *Protestant* ; and the *Protestant* it is well enough known wrested it from the *Roman Catholick*, who had lived in it a thousand years before any *Protestant* was known or heard of in the Land : and the *Catholick* received it from his *Papal Pastour* or Bishop, the *Brittain* from Pope *Elutherius*, the *Saxon* or *English* from Pope *Gregory* the Great, as Histories will witness. Let us take heed then, we incur not the censur of mad men, for pretending with so many furious quarrells, both by congue, and pen, and sword, a precedency in religion one over another, where according to this great oracle of *S. Paul* it is manifest, that none of us can have any. Nay by this rule we cannot have so much as

truth amongst us, any further than we are conformable unto him, *from* whom the word of God came, or to them *unto* whom it first came. And if we make a strict examin, we shall find, that they *unto whom* the Gospel in this Nation first came, were not either *Protestants, Presbyterians, or Independents*; and He, *from whom* it came, was one whom all these do hate. Where then is truth, and which of these duellists hath the precedency in it? I mention not the *Papist* or *Roman Catholick* amongst the rest; both becaus he raises no troubles, but is on the suffering side, oppugned by all opiniasters of whatever kind they be, and defamed and vexed by them all, who notwithstanding upon the same account of religion defame and vex one another, unto the daily disquiet and overthrow of our Kingdom: as also becaus I beleeve he would soon answer the doubt, and by the test of this great oracle carry away the precedency from us all, and we all found to have no more truth in us, than we have conformity unto Roman-catholicks. Wherefore gentlemen I shall never engage my self in any of your feuds, and I would to God none els would do it, till you answer me to this my question, which I make to you all in general, and to each party in particular. *An à vobis verbum Dei processit, an ad vos solum pervenit*, did the Gospel first com from you, or only to you. If either, tell me which; and on what side it is, and I shall be on that; if neither, I can be of no side, to follow it as my guide. For though each party may haply have in it some reliques of truth amongst other fals inventions, all truths being not utterly abolished on the sodain, yet can no such party hold forth any doctrin, I may safely build upon. That Person, or that See, or that Congregation, from whom the Gospel came, or those people at least unto whom it first came, legally delivered and not extorted, and totally accepted without diminishment, commensuratively unto his mind who sent it, these are the onely persons, unto whom of divine right precedency so much belongs, as all that will be of
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Christs mystical body, not only may safely, but must universally follow them. But where this body of men may be, the *Pope and Papists*, from whom and unto whom alone the Gospel first came, being by us concluded under error, is so obscure, that for my part having lost them, I cannot find out whom I may safely adhere unto, in the opinions and practises of religion. Sith none of us in *England* besides them, can according to this great oracle of *S. Paul*, pretend any right to guide his neighbour in those wayes. Wherefor it were good wisdom in my judgment, to sheath our swords and pens, and be at peace; till we can find out a party among us, that can make good this canonical title of preheminance. For she that can do it, is the only pure and mother Church, whom all must obey and hear. And all other factions, that be unconformable unto that holy Church, from whom or unto whom the Gospel first came, are little better perhaps, then stark naught.

I cannot see then as yet, why we should all of us, *Presbyterian, Protestant, and Independent*, inveigh so furiously, either one against another within our selves, or all of us against the *Papist*; or why upon this account any one should be putt up against his neighbour, or hate and prosecute him as an execrable thing; but that we should rather study mutual comiseration, charity and peace.

§. 3. *Motives to moderation.*

THer have ever been variety of opinions in the world, and considering the diversity of our constitution and complexion, will ever still be unto the end, so long as we be left to our selves. In the small knowledge we have of times past, ther is enough to certifie the division of minds and opinions in all ages and places. But it is to be noted, that none of these ever submitted to another, nor fell into unity by conviction of any one reason above the rest. And yet doubtles ther was som such reason extant. But they were

notwithstanding all quieted at length, like boisterous whirlwinds after some ages puffing one against another, well broken, tired and decaying for want of further matter. But that which never fails is truth.

Nor do I find, that they used ordinarily in former times of old among the Pagans, other weapons offensive or defensive in the heats of their opinion-wars, but only pen and speech. Our Christians, those huge eminent professors of humility, peace and moderation, are the only hot-spur opinionasters, and surely the sharpest darers and eagerest fighters for their self-wills and conceits that were ever yet brought upon this worlds amphitheater. And as they show the greatest fury, so do they exhibit the least reason, of all controvertists upon earth. For, the *spirit*, the *light*, the *Lord*, the *word*, and such like motives of a new fancy, what can these things signifie between men of the same profession, that pretend all to the same things; but only this, that the Papal chair being once removed, every one may advance his own seat in the place. For all are equally infallible, equally resolute, and unmovable in their decrees. Nor do any ever heed the invalidity of his motives, nor for the most part understand, when he is confuted even by his own weapons. So eager we are, and resolutely impertinent in our waies. In truth, opinions and controversies once raised, were never yet allayed by reason, nor ever can be. For the first founder and forger of the novelty, moved therunto by passion and interest, as in time it proves evident to the world, put on a resolve never to yield, whether he hold forth a natural or supernatural light, as a weapon of his warfar. And therfor he will only be tried by his own weapon; and that too shall signifie nothing but in his own hand: which is a certain way of victory at least in the eyes of the vulgar, whom he seeks to inveigle, and consequently both of interest and glory to himself. Let there be never so many opinions, they all overcome.

How shall he be confuted that brings with himself, in
appea-

appearance I mean and his own pretens, the *Lord*, or *Light*, or *Word*, or *Spirit*, or *Tradition*, or *Reason*, with open defiance to the whole world, as utterly devoid of all such helps, which himself, and he alone enjoys in all abundance? Confute him that can. Let truth and wisdom flow like streams from the lips of his opponent: let all sort of rhetorick conspire to his satisfaction. If he doth not laugh at it, as empty sounds and not the true *word*, as flesh and not *spirit*, as man and not the *Lord*, as darknes and not *light*, as folly and not *reason*, as human inventions and no divine *tradition*, let me lose belief for ever. And what end can ther be made of such new started doubts? or where lies the defect or reason of their indeterminablenes, but only in the pride and obstinacy of the first prophet and his disciples, who indeed are not such, if they be not self-willed and self-conceited, like himself.

This may be the reason of that sage advice the Apostle gives to Titus; *Hæreticum hominem post unam & alteram correctionem devota*, &c. An heretical man check him once or twice, and then avoid him; for he is utterly subverted, and condemned in his own judgment. As if he had said; dispute not with him, but check him; if that will do no good, avoid him, for he is past hopes. But how is such a one *condemned in his own judgment*? and why should we therfor treat no further with him. Namely, becaus he knows aforehand in his own heart, what ever he pretend, that out of malice, pride or other passion he holds forth his novelties, and yet means not to yield or be convicted of it, whatever shall be said against him: becaus it would put a lettance to his interest and the unlawful ends he aims at, either to be subdued, or seem to be overcome.

If ther were any true respect in the world, or esteem of one another; if every man had but that value of his neighbour which he hath of himself, then would all these opinion-seuds either not kindle at all, or be soon extinguished. For altho it could hardly be prevented, considering hu-

man constitutions, but that odde thoughts and various whimsies would rise in the minds of men, that are left to themselves; yet so long as they remained inward, without issuing forth to life, as a still-born child never to walk abroad, all would be well enough betwixt neighbours, and charity inviolate amongst them. It were a most happy thing, if the fanatick wombs, and brains of mortals, would thus miscarry in the child-birth, and their conceit come forth still-born. So indeed it would, did not self-opinion midwife it into the world, and preserv its life.

But as soon as the *Mind* has once conceived of her *Incubus*, she swells with pride, so prodigiously that every vein stretches, and labours hugely to bring forth. The feartous babe, when it is once out, does so mightily please the dam, that it is carried from city to city to be shown. And see the wonder: within a small space we have thousands of that opinion; all ready prest to undergo a martyrdom for the imp: so prone is mankind to delusion. But in the true-hous and mansion of *Jesus*, who is the right and only splendor of divine glory, all this bastardly brood is suffocated, for the most part in the conception, by the spirit of him who resides there: but generally in the birth, by the care of government, instituted and observed in that place. And if the harlot do by her subtilty bring forth, and expose her brat to view, she flies for it, and the chattering moon-calf, as soon as they catch it up, is stifled.

Ich interim ther is nothing brought forth so deformed, but it is hugged and carested as the fairest of creatures: such self conceit accompanies all these naturall conceptions. Go about to convince it to be the seed of Satan, and dirt will be thrown in your face. This is the success and event of all disputes in religion. No man will ever be confuted; or if really he be, he will not acknowledg it, nor desert his caus. For to seem to be convinced, is to suffocate his interest and glory with his own hands.

When opinions therfor once rise, ther is som reason indeed

deed in Power, but no power at all in Reason, either to as-
 swage or stifle them. And if they do multiply, as they are
 very nimble and volatile, apt to fly and encreas like fire in
 dry stubble before a strong wind, then Power it self is hum-
 bled before them, as unreasonable and senceles; even as be-
 fore all Reason was esteemed impotent and weak. If Prin-
 ces would seriously lay these things to heart, much of evil
 might be prevented in a Kingdom.

Let any man think within him self what he pleases: his
 thoughts are free, and do harm to none, but haply to the
 spirit of himself. But if once having invented a conceit,
 he go about to compel his neighbours to think as he does,
 otherwise to bring upon them vexation and ruin; if he be
 restless, till one of these be don; and begin to make signs
 thereof by concours of people as symptoms of an approach-
 ing earthquake; then let all men take heed, and he especi-
 ally that sits above the rest, whose care it is to look to the
 safety of us all, and all our welfar too is involved in the
 peace and safety of himself.

I have often wondred in my self, that since all mens o-
 pinions are their own self-created paradises, wherein they
 solace and pleas themselves, why they should not be content
 to enjoy their pleasures alone, but are even restless in them-
 selves till they have brought all others into their garden of
 delight, and made them tast of their fruit. It is not usually
 so don in other delightful pleasures of this world, wherof
 all men endeavour to make a monopoly to themselves, if
 they be more special delights. And yet after som serious
 thoughts we may discern a reason for it upon sight of the
 great pride which their own words and gestures bewray in
 them. They would be as gods unto men, for whom they
 create out of nothing so pretty a paradise of pleasur. Ano-
 ther would say, they appear rather like the serpent in the
 garden, discovering more, as they pretend, of Gods se-
 crets, than plain old *Adam* and *Eve* ever dreamed of. Let
 it be what it will; in this the hieroglyphick is clear: After

God hath once settled a Church, wherein is the tree of life, if any one, neglecting the things which are ordained for his use and benefit, begin to discover new disturbing secrets, not before heard of in the place, let every one then beware. *Latet anguis in herba.*

Three things, if they were seriously considered, would methinks much weaken self-conceit of our own judgments, which obstructs all right understanding in matters of religion.

First is, the great ignorance our state and condition is involved, concerning either God in himself, or his works or providence. This is the first. And if any anticipate me and say, that the scriptur reveals enough unto us; I answer, it is true, if men would content themselves to use it to that purpos it was written, which is to guide our feet in the practis of solid goodnes, sobriety and justice, upon a hopes of future blifs, promised to all such as shall be found so doing, in him that revealed it. For this is both the compendium, and end of that holy writ; and it is enough. But if not thinking of this, we use it, as now generally we do, to rais and strengthen us in new opinions, for which it was never intended, tho for aught I can see it is the greatest if not the sole use we now make of it, then it rather makes our maze greater then lessens it, and through our own abuse puts us besides those truths and wayes, which otherwis we should very constant and patiently pursue. Whence are all these varieties of opinions now in *England*, and the obstinacy each one hath in his own, but by the confident abuse of that sacred book, out of which we throw texts at one another, as the old ----Tectour *Oliver* used in his sports, to cast carpets and cushions about the heads of his play mates, and in his feasts, apple tarts and custards; which were never made for that purpos, tho he was pleased so to abuse them for his pastime. Experience hath now taught us clear enough, that the Scriptur is a dangerous edged tool, to put into the hands of the rude and boisterous vulgar.

vulgar. A compendious narration of the story and morality of it, so ordered unto solid practis, that it were suffered to be used for nothing els, either for disputes or jesting conceits, kept our English Christian nation for a thousand years together, so long as it was catholick, in all unity and peace, and rendred them fruitful in all good works : whereas the whole and very text now in this last age put into vulgar hands, together with a fore-apprehension and belief of the unmeritoriousnes and unprofitableness of good works in order to eternal life, unto which forsooth faith must only suffice, which is contrary indeed to the very genius and end and purpos of Gods word and them that wrote it, hath filled the Land with so much wretchednes and divisions. And who shall interpret the scriptur to us, to the end it may guide our thoughts without error ? It self ? So som say. But then, if we may guess at the natur of it, by the fruits of the interpretation we have from it, what a Chaos of confusion would it be thought to be. For such be the contradictory interpretations that are all said to com from it. Shall the Church interpret it ? no this is Popish. And what Church ? those in whose hands we found it, or from whose hands we first had it ? If the former ; they may be as destitute of power to interpret as our selvs : if the other, then must we return unto the obedience of the *Roman* Church. For all the world knows we received the Gospel first from *Rome*. Must neither interpret ? but only the spirit and divine light within our selvs ? This may be that must teach us to know all things ; but what is the thing shall teach us to know it ? How shall we be assured, that it is a spirit or light divine ? If we mistake here, our pretended light may prove an *Ignis fatuus*, and no less foolish the illumination by it. If we do not know even our own soul and spirit within us, what it is, how it informs our body, how it works in it all those several operations of thoughts and corporeal alterations, whence it comes, or how it is annexed to us while it staves,

why

why it departs, or whether it goes, as it is certain we do not, how can we judg assuredly, whence such, and such a thought arises in it, from God above, or sensual causes? tho it never so much pretend a divine mission, and be transfigured into a shape angelical; or that any spirit or light within us is truly divine, and not phantastical. Do not the corporeal spirits inflamed by often beating upon an object, naturally hammer forth such odd phantoms in great abundance, without either order or measur, invested all of them in such shapes, as the artificer forged himself, without any other exterior aid but objectiv representations, which oftentimes so vigorously represent themselves, that from the objects of thought they stand at length in place of the subject thinking. If any one will not believ me, let him take the pains to make a journey into *Bedlam* here in *London, Paris*, and other Cities, and convers but a while with the mad men there, and he will then soon find it true? There he shall meet with countesses, captains, bishops, kings, not real, as themselves imagin, but fantastick and whimsical ones. Nay som one there, will pretend to be Christ himself, another the Holy Ghost, a third God the Father of all things; and what not? And the fancy too is so strong and prevalent, that the whip may chance at length to beat it out, but all the reasoning in the world shall never do it.

The second consideration to promote moderation, and consequently to make way for a right understanding is the sad precipices men have run themselves and others, by their headines and temerarious obstinacy in their opinions and conceits, even to the utter ruin and depopulation of flourishing kingdoms, as ancient histories will copiously witness. And if any say, *Alas what do you tell us of those men, they were a self-deluded people.* Does not the world say so of you? *Oh but we know the contrary.* Just so said they. *Oh but we cannot be deceived, the truth, the word, the Lord himself cannot lye; heaven and earth may fail, these cannot.* This was even their very song. O then if it

be so, they were in the right too! Then you are not: for they were in many things of a contrary opinion to you, all of them, and som in all things. *Well, well, God knows his self.* 'Tis true, but you know them not. *No, not I? why should I not except I be reprobate?* You may be so, walk then in fear. *He that hath the light, must he not needs see it?* If he have it near him, he may; so that he be not hoodwinked or blinded with a prejudice: and he may think too he sees it, when he has it not. I have often waked at midnight, and thought my whole chamber enlightened, but by and by perceived it was only the glimpses of som natural luminous spirits, not in the chamber but under my own eye lids, which was a vanishing and false light, and not at all in the place I took it to be. *You may as well say as much of the Apostles and Prophets themselves.* I may so, and would do it without any fear at all, if I had no other motives of respect to their words, than I have to yours. *Com, com, if the truth be hid, it is hid to them that be lost.* Be it so, yet still the question will be, whether I be lost or you, whether you or all mankind beside.

The third consideration is, the genuin and connatural excellency of a good Christian man, whether we follow reason or authority in deciphering it, which consists not, in finding out new ways to the reformation of other mens thoughts, but putting in practis the old received well known dictates of sobriety justice and piety in our selves, with submission unto the direction of such as delivered them unto us, from that one Lord we all worship. *Oh but men have swarved from those ways.* Let them; they shall bear their own burden: do not you swarv, and it shall be well with you. Themselvs and such as were set over them, as I know you are not, shall render an account for those lost sheep, whiles you are safe, and being innocent have no account to give either for your selvs or others. *O but the zeal of the Lords hous doth eat us up.* Good; let not that zeal of yours eat the Lords hous up, and all is well. *Away, away,*
we

we cannot abide bishops, and priests, and copes, and surplices, they are very beams in our wayes. It is a sign of a weak and ill-affected eye, not to be able to look upon any thing. You shall not be burdened with the wearing either of the vestments or titles; and the meer seeing, should not be much thinks so troublesome. And yet late experience hath made it evident, whatever tendernes you may pretend, that you are able to bear upon your selves, even that you pretend you cannot look upon at a distance: which is an odd kind of riddle. The office of a priest and bishop, which you say is only to preach, together with his state and means; this you have not only borne very tamely these years of our confusion, but earnestly thrust your selves into it. And is it not strange tendernes, to sweat under a burden which another man bears, and not be troubled at all, when we bear it on our selves; nay thrust our selves into it? Their copes dislike you in the Church, but in your own houses they make a goodly fine show; and their very surplices please you well, when they are next to your own skin. What it was, that the fox fell out with the lovely grapes, it appeared afterward, when they were seen gripped so greedily within his teeth. The only cause of his dislike and vehement invections against them was, and a shrewd one it was, that himself could not come at them. *Nay, nay, 'tis the Popery, 'tis that we dislike.* If the fox could have spoke, he would have called those grapes popish too. For now adayes, all that stands in our way, and all that we would undermine, and cannot immediately reach, we cry out upon as popery: which is a sound so inflames the vulgar ears, that they all flock together at that alarm, against father and mother, Prince and neighbour, Church and state, without any further consideration, to the assistance of that cunning wag, who by that so taking a stratagem raised a publick help for the working of his own design.

The Popery you say you dislike. This you may do, without disturbing either your own or other mens peace. The

be a thousand things I dislike every day, as I walk along through *London* streets, which no prudence dictates me to check, or seek to rectifie. It is not the custom of a traveller, we are all pilgrims upon earth, to cut up bushes or lop hedges, that hang in their eyes as they pass: but peaceably to go beside them, without further nois, or disquiet. And if any should do otherwis, he would be looked upon as a mad man, and haply run himself into jeopardy. But what if popery prove at length not to be any evil thing at all, but good and pious, however represented to us all this while, as odious under the bugbear of that name? I know you will startle at this word; but you would not do so, had you some few degrees of further knowledg and experience. Christ and his Christianity was long ago by such investivs and ignominious appellations, made as odious in the world, as now it can be under the name of popery. Inso-much, that of the three, *Epicureans*, *Christians*, and *Atheists*, which wer generally put together, as a triplicity of abomination, the professours of *Christianity* wer ever put in the middle, as the most impious of all the three, not only in their lives but in the opinions and belief. And as such they wer dealt withall throughout all the Roman empire, for three hundred years together, whiles that empire was pagan, contemned, pillaged, tortured, as people of the most wicked profession the earth ever bore. And all Europ, wherein ther wer then as many great wise heads, and as morally honest persons as ever ther were in the pagan world, beleaved it. Such power hath a popular vogue once raised to the prejudice of any; especially if authority do constantly conspire to their ruin.

It is not my purpos at this time either to oppugn popery, or to defend it. For in oppugning it, I may chance indeed to pleas som; in defending it, I am sure to pleas no body. For the *Catholicks*, althoug they know in general, that by the name of *papist* and *popery* their persons and professions are aimed at; yet what their adversary would ex-
press

prefers by *popery*, when he objects it to them, there is not one *Catholick* in *England* understands. If it be an expression of their religion, they have no rule for that but Gospel: if of the superstitions, idolatries, murders, treasons, adulteries, lyes, pride, gluttonies, generally put upon them under that name, they know no such religion.

And if *popery* should be proved in any part not good, this of episcopacy and their decent ornaments, may be no part of it that is naught: nay whether it be any part of *popery* at all, not we, who do not know what *popery* is, but they who profess it, or at least profess a religion that is loaded with this name, must judge. And these do not acknowledge our Protestant Bishops, or any of their rites, if we mean by *popery* the religion they profess, to be any *popery* at all. *Oh, but if it be not popery, 'tis at least foppery, and we will have it taken away.* Be it what it will, have you peace within your self. If it be any invention of man, it will moulder away as mans inventions do; if it be either instituted or approved of God, who can resist him. Be first assured what it is, before you attempt to remove it; and when you are resolved, choose to do it, not by tumult, but by ways of peace. This prudent and honest method of proceeding in such cases as these, is well set down by a Scribe or Justice of Peace amongst the *Ephesians*, upon occasion of the like uproar. *There was made a loud cry of all the people*, saith the sacred text in the Acts of the Apostles, *as it were for two hours together crying out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians*, (and every mans opinion is his Diana) and when the clerk of the court had appeased the uproar, he said, *Men of Ephesus, what man is there amongst us, that is ignorant that the City of the Ephesians is a worshipper of great Diana and the off-spring of Jove; whereas therefore these things cannot be gain-said, it behooves you to be quiet and to do nothing rashly. Ye have brought hither men neither sacrilegious, nor blasphemers of your gods. But if Demetrius, and the artificers with him have ought*
against

against any one, the courts are open, and proconsuls ready; let them accuse one another there: if ye would anything further, in a lawful assembly it may be decided. For we are in danger to be called in question for this dayes sedition; whereas ther is no one man in so great a tumult, of whom we can give an account, as authour of this concourse. Thus spake that wise pagan. And the counsel is very good in all such cases, wherof this of ours is one. *Oh but these bishops do captivate mens consciences, and take away our Christian liberty: they would force us to a belief and liking of their ways.* Say you so? then you may shake hands. For you would force them and others to a liking of yours. *But we neither can, nor will approve of them.* They neither can, nor will assent to you. *They have no reason, but their own pride.* They alledg pride to be all your reason. *The Spirit and God that is in us, urges us to hate all the works of the devil.* So say they. *There is no communion with light and darknes, God and Belial:* They say so too; you will be friends anon. *Blessed is he that hates iniquity from his heart.* This is the very subject of their sermons. You are now becom one of their disciples. *We their disciples? no, we bow not our head to any horned beast.* Very good, they like your resolution, and will not therfor bow their heads to you.

CHAP. II.

All things are so obscure, that no man in prudence can so far presume of his own proper knowledg, as to set up himself a guide in religion to his neighbour.

§. 4. Obscurity of God.

OF the three abovenamed considerations, which being well inprinted in our hearts, I should deem sufficient

cient to put all our animosities to silence ; the two last rather moral then acroamatick topicks, and therfor to be cast with their fellows into the last paragraft of the book. The first which speaks the great ignorance our present condition is involved, both concerning God, his works and providence requires a little more explicite discourse. And becaus it is a speculation very beneficial, not only to the purpos I now aim at, but absolutely in it self, and for several uses of mans life, it shall take up the three following paragrafts. And if all these things, both God, nature and providence do prove so obscure, as I find them to be, and I think will to all that ponder the matter well, evidently appear ; what is then the knowledg we boast of, and of which we are so confident, as to prescribe laws every one of us to the whole land, and to bring all into confusion about it. For religion surely must needs be conversant about one of these three things, or all of them together.

He that shall think upon God alone, apart from heaven and earth, and every whatever created substance visible or invisible, as in the center of his own all-sufficient eternity, before either earth or heaven was made, must needs be swallowed up and darkned round about, as if he stood in the center of a world of waters, and for want of a proper idea to fix on, melt away in reverence of that all venerable and sacred Being, which is an unmeasurable and boundless ocean of wisdom, power and goodness in himself. And altho he may have much improved himself by the frequent study and meditation of the subtil books Christendom hath brought forth ; yet shall he find himself so infinite short of any satisfying knowledg concerning God, that he must conclude himself to remain still in the wondering side, and to know so little that he may well call it nothing. Whensoever I think of that first *Esse* we call God, both *S. Thomas* and subtil *Scotus*, and all writings or conceits of men, fail and fall short, and help us little or

nothing, no nor any scripture whatsoever. They seem all to speak something about God, nothing of him: indeed they cannot. In this our earth and exile we have no words to express him, no notion to conceive him as he is in himself, no idea to represent him; which perhaps is the reason moved subtil *Scotus* to teach, that our divinity is not speculative but practical, lest it should be a science that signifies nothing. For love of that divine object makes up all.

Our Lord is verily a *hidden* God, saith one no less piously than truly; hidden in himself and essence, hidden in his works, hidden in his providence, hidden in his own life and being, and hidden too in all his emanations, and egressions of eternity. Nor can any created Being in the highest pitch of all possible excellency, naturally approach that unaccessible presence, in his state of pilgrimage and mutability. The discovery of himself unto them is their bliss; it is their condition supernatural, and felicity of glory.

What then can poor man, a worm and dust, in this his state of sin, corruption and darknes, presume to know of *Him*, whom no invisible creatur, or the highest angel can pry into, even in the supremest excellency of his spiritual condition, out of his state of immutability and beatitude. No man can see God and live: and no angel can see God and dye. For the vision is inconsistent, either with our mortality, or their state of probation. We must be elevated above our mortal life, they exalted from their condition of mutability, by that vision once imparted. God is an abyss of beatitude, reserved only for the infinity of bliss in the state of eternity, where new ravishing wonders, and extasies, and joyes, shall spring up from him without end, to the daily fresh beatifying of all those spirits, that shall be thought worthy of that glorious never failing day.

Nor is ther any way left for man to reach this infinite abyss; but by affection. The will of man is far longer winged;

than his understanding ; and love will find access, where knowledg cannot approach. For tho it be true that an unknown thing cannot be loved, yet may a man love more of a thing than he knows, and fasten his affection upon that whole thing in particular ; wherof he hath but a general and confused apprehension. Thus I may love a mans person whom I never saw, and consequently know not, by a report of his goodness or sight of his hand-writing : which love will embrace the person himself, tho it be guided by no more knowledg, than that of his words, or gesture, or written conceptions. So God represented unto us under the general and metaphysical notions of an infinite substantial Ocean of goodness wisdom and power, from whom do all things flow, by whom they subsist, and in whom finally they end ; the first caus, eternal, immense, omnipotent ; the best and greatest, creatour and conserver of all that is, or can be ; substantial wisdom and sanctity ; immutable, hater of iniquity, and lover of good ; the beginning and end of things ; essential truth, and light and life ; the very being of all beings ; the solace of all spirits, and sole beautifying bliss ; and the like ; tho this, and much more said of him, as notions adjacent and metaphysicall properties of that eternal and ineffable essence, suffice us for our knowledg of him in this world, yet is all the while that great Essence, from whence these properties flow, unexpressed and utterly hid, and God still in his particular and specifick entity an unknown God to us. Yet notwithstanding God, or that unknown Essence is supereminently estimated, adored, and loved, even in his very individual being, by that spirit, who will think of him and love him as he ought, even in this very state of our exile, corruption and darkness. So far extended, so ingenious and quick is charity, that a very small sparkling of knowledg, if it do but show her as far off onely the outward frontispiece and battlements, where the Beloved dwells, will enough suffice her for a guide to throw her self into his bosom.

This

This great God and immens spring of life and being, if he be compared to the univers and whole creation, consisting both of the millions of invisible spirits and the great machin of this visible world, will be found as the onely substance; and all things besides him a thinne shadow: he solid entity, and the great univers in comparison of him but a meer show; far more differing than the body of a house or tree, and the shadow thereof in the Sun. And therefore high contemplatives have called the world a vanity, a lye, a shadow, a non-entity. And so indeed it is, compared with God, wherein all being is subsistent in its substantial primogenial perfection. It must needs be so. Whereby we may see how deeply the sensual & carnall men of this world are deceived in their judgments; whilst they look upon this world and the things of this world, especially that part of it they use for their pleasur and delight, as things of true real and solid substance, but God the authour of all, as an airy flying fanisy; taking the substance for the shadow, and the shadow for the substance. So grossly do we delude our selves in our conceits of God, and for his good deeds towards us, dishonour him in requital. But the inveiglement of pleasures brings us below our manhood, & makes us think like beasts.

The obscurity of this most high God, and his unaccessible light, not to use any further argument than what is vulgar and before our eyes, will be made more than manifest, if we do but cast our eyes upon the sons of men round about the globe of Earth our selves inhabit, and their various both inquests after him, and conceptions of him. If men could do this one thing exactly, all further pains of implanting in us true humility instead of pride, amazement in place of arrogance, fear in the room of presumption, self-denial in exchange of that prodigious self-confidence that abounds and rules in us, might soon ceas. Who is he that dare presume in any way of his own invention, when he considers, as very true it is, all mankind so many

several wayes in all ages, groping after a Deity, like so many blind men in a vast plain, by the help not of eyes, for who can discover or see him, but of that pittiful reed of weak imagination. And are not all these equally his creatures? do they not equally show their love in seeking after him? have they not at their birth equal right to his favour, which before they were born they could no wayes be thought to forfeit. And how then can infinite goodnes so neglect, infinite wisdom so far unheed, infinite power so desert this poor wretched worm, that very fain would love him, would be very glad to find him, would think it a happiness to serv him, and for this end seeks after him so incessantly, so variously, and, by reason that he is a *hidden* God, so fruitlessly as he does. In this perplexity remains mankind, till ther appear a prophet or teacher to each nation, who may direct & lead them. But when this happens, how much is poor man the nearer? Ther be haply as many several prophets as ther be nations upon earth. For though two or three nations may follow one, yet som one nation hath two or three. And all these equally pretend to be divine, tho their laws, & rules, & religious rites be not only divers, but oftentimes opposite. What can we think when we contemplate this? Where is truth, & how shall we have it, sith we cannot find it out our selves, if not from the hands of such as pretend to com from God? And yet they cannot all be true. Which then is fals, and who is true? Is ther any way in nature to know it? For all establish their own way and honour by all inventions possible within their reach, sometimes by miracles, which their own disciples believ, tho others decide them, oftentimes by visions and prophecies, generally by a shew of sanctity, with a concours of threats and promises both present and future, to the volatours and observers of their law. And therfor, if any be true, as it is but a surmise to think it, if a man proceed by the strength of his own reason, so is it a meer chance to hit it; which is generally don by birth, or casual circumstance of perswasion. Besides a religion

ligion once established be it true or fals, in the space of some succeeding ages is reformed anew by other teachers or interpreters, who in time lead men out of the former way into their own; sometimes slowly, gradually and insensibly, so that they are brought into another religion before they be aware; sometimes by open hostility to the former, which whether by covin or violence, yields at last to the ingress of a new one.

This is the right case and business concerning religion in the world: people still being vehemently bent upon that they fasten upon, tho haply it be quite opposite to the former, wherein both themselves and forefathers lived. Such is the miserable instability of mankind; which is a sign, that God and his truth, how confident soever men may be, is ever hidden and inevident. For men do not use to depart from evidence. Let Philosophers dispute never so subtilly to prove snow is black, they will get no followers. A contrary evidence detains even them that cannot tell how to answer their arguments, from a submission unreasonable. Nor is there all this while any one sect upon earth, but condemns all other ways besides his own, which he no less admires, than he disesteems them. Yea separating from a former Religion to another, either in all things opposite or a part onely, men are apt to inveigh as bitterly against that now, as then they did against this, and with equal confidence of truth in both places. Where then is truth, and who sees it? Is not God indeed hidden? Does he appear at all to any? For although all say, they see him and his truth with their eyes, it is evident enough, by the mutations both personal and national, that he made in the world, there is no such matter. From God and from evident truth no man does willingly depart. The same appears by the opposite professions of truth with such equal confidence, that it is not in the power of any man, to say of himself where it is. *Archimedes* had an opinion that he could move the whole earth, had he but a place out of the

earth to set his foot on. And so must he, who shall judge of this controversie, stand in some place apart, where he may oversee all, not interested in any : in a word he must be out of the earth. Nor is the Atheist a fit judge, although he may bear himself for one. For as none can judge of men, but he that owns such a thing as humanity ; so neither can he give any plausible judgment of religions who acknowledges none. Nor yet is it an easy thing, to pluck up the general connatural seeds of religion implanted in mans spirit, and sprouting forth rather into the profession of a false religion, than of none.

Who dare then presume of his knowledge; and what motives has he in himself to do so, which another wants? Be it scriptures, prophecies, visions, light, or inward assurance; boast of what you please, all will do the like, and with the self-same confidence. For, let Philosophers speak what they please, of the certainty of object, which some men have over and above the certainty of subject; I am not able to conceive, how an objectiv certainty can stand without evidence, or how it may consist with that mutability I see to be in the world. For men do depart from a good religion, wherein they would have to be a certainty of object, as from a bad one, wherein they allow only a certainty of subject, which is nothing but a personal self-willed resolution in their wayes.

Since men therfor do thus abound all of them in their own sense, haply without sense, if a thousand voices may be of force against one single one, how does it behoove us, if we would be truly wise, to walk all our dayes not in disputes and disquietness without end, but in humility and fear. But some will say, all this is nothing to us, since Christ our Lord hath revealed to us, both God himself and all necessary truths concerning him, of all which we may well be confident. But stay a while, and ponder what I have already spoken : do not all nations say as much for themselves. *What then? should we doubt of our Faith in Christ?*

no, in no wise. But I must speak a bold word: these very dissensions of ours about that faith, in its branches, so hot, so various, so extravagant, are apt to infer a suspicion of it in its very root. Are not hundreds in our own countrey become atheists already upon that very motiv? And these men supposing substantial change once made in religion, and deliberately admitted, are rather to be commended for their wit than blamed. For they do but that sodainly, which all the land will com to by degrees. If the *Papist* or Roman-Catholick, who first brought the news of Christ and his Christianity into the land, as all men must needs know, that have either heard or read of Christianities ingress into *England* or other Countreys and Kingdoms, since we do no sooner hear news of Christianity, than Popery, and its crucifixes, monasteries, reliques, sacrifice, and the like, I say, if the *Papist* be now becom so odious as we see he is, and if the faith he brought and maintained a thousand years together, be now rent all asunder by sects and factions, which bandy all to the ruin of that mother religion: If all her practical truths, wherein chiefeest piety consists, be already abolished as erroneous; does not this justify the pagan, whom this Catholick Christian displaced to make way for his own law? And must not this be a certain way and means to introduce atheism, which naturally follows that faith once removed, even as a carcas succeeds a living body once deceased? For one truth denied is a fair way to question another, which came by the same hand; and this a third, till the very authority of the first revealer be at stake, which can no more defend him, than his law. For the same axe and instrument that cut down the branches, can cut up the root too. And if his reverence, for which all the rest was beleeved, defend not their truth, it must needs at length utterly fail in his own. For all the authority they had was purely from him; and be fails in them, before he falls in himself. No man can deny this, that shall seriously lay his hand upon his heart,

and ponder things, as he ought. And he that once ceaseth to beleeve in Christ, whom before he worshipped, I am sure he will turn atheist, if his wit and reason proceed consequently, and beleeve nothing.

A little more to specify my meaning : If the institutions of monasteries, to the praise and service of God day and night, be thought as it hath been now these many years by the first rule of reformation, a superstitious folly; if Christian Priests and sacrifices be things of high idolatry; if the seven sacraments be deemed vain, most of them; if it suffice to salvation only to beleeve, what ever life we lead; if ther be no value or merit in good works; if Gods laws be impossible to be kept; if Christ be not our law-maker and directour of doing well, as well as redeemer from ill; if ther be no sacramental tribunal for our reconciliation ordained for us by Christ upon earth; if the real body of our Lord be not bequeathed unto his Spous in his last will and testament; if ther be not under Christ a general head of the Church, who is chief Priest and Pastour of all Christians upon earth under God, whose Vicegerent he is in spiritual affairs; all which things were held forth by the Reformation, manifestly against the doctrine of the first preachers of Christianity in this land : Then, say I, paganism was unjustly displaced by these doctrines, and atheism must needs succeed. For if Christ deceived us, upon whom shall we rely? And if they, that brought us the first news of Christ, brought along with it so many grand lyes, why may not the very story of Christ himself be thought a Romance? And *erunt novissima pejora prioribus*, the latter condition of this land under atheism, catholick faith once utterly extirpated, must needs be far worse, than it was in Paganism, before it was planted. For sweeter is that body, put case a statue of stone, that was never animated, than is any carcas of man after the soul is departed.

And are not we in a wood now? who shall lead us out?

The

The maze is made greater, by the consideration of the multitude of sects now reigning amongst us: all which as they do unanimously conspire against that Catholick Church they have deserted; so they wrangle now about every thing, wherein they first agreed and conspired against her, hating and execrating one another even unto war and bloodshed, and the utter desolation of our distressed nation. *Quid est veritas*, and on whose side is God all this while? Does he not lie hid, and say nothing, and leav us wholly to our selvs, by a judgment unsearchable in these affairs, even as in other courses of this world? Ith inter-im all opinions utter fine words; all presume of themselves; all are peremptory, and censur not only their neighbours, but even the whole earth round about. Where is truth? *here* saith one. Nay not there, but *here* quoth another. Neither there nor there, but *here* saith a third. But so many *heres* and *theres* sounds nothing to a rational man, but either every where or no where; and what to conclude, is impossible for man of himself stedfastly to resolv. *Here is Christ and there is Christ*, in the judgment of Christ himself, signifies neither here nor there. *If they say, saith our Lord, here is Christ or there is Christ, do not ye go forth or follow them.* And the reason is very good. For the true Church wherein Christ really resides, is ever in a posture of quietnes; defence and peace. But they that go out of her, and set up new wayes of their own, are ever in clamour and dissention, which of them should do it best; and the cry is heard aloud and without ceas, *Here, Here*. Christ is here saith the *Protestant*, and not amongst the *Papists*, whom we have deserted and renounced. Say you so, quoth the *Presbyterian*; by your favour, he is *Here*. Nay then, says the *Anabaptist*, *Here* he is. If you be at that, quoth the *Quaker*, you are all blinded men, if any would find the true light, let him com to us; for *here* it is, and no where but *here*. But when all is done, truth is not in division but unity; not in sedition and clamour, but meeknes and peace.

If

If ten men stand gazing in a street, & agree all that they see a thing there, but disagree in the description of it; a stranger coming by, will rather guess they are mad, then that they see any thing at all. One thing I am sure of; that if all men would be humble minded and sober, and cast out of their hearts the great prejudice they have taken up against one another, they would see the better for it.

That I may conclude this subject, as unwilling to say more, than what may help to lop the vain and superfluous excrescencies of faction and dissention about religion, which perhaps none of us do rightly understand, and loth to cut the tree it self to the quick, it may appear sufficiently by what I have said, and yet far more, if we joyn our own experimental knowledg and ratiocination of further things, which I do purposely omit, that God is in himself an unsearchable abyss, and his essence and counsels past finding out. Nay he is the great primo-genial and father-abys of all others, not to be approached by angels or men, but according to such few general conceptions himself hath either revealed or imprinted in them, which be far from reaching home either to his counsels, or proper essence. And who hath been his mate or counsellour, that he should tell us news of him never heard before? If any news ther be of him, it is surely to be had from Christ, whom we beleeve to be his very substantial word and the splendour of his glory: and if Christ hath left any secrets of him, to be revealed unto mankind, we must have them from his Church, which is the pillar and foundation and treasury of all his truth; and if any Church is to be consulted, I should think it should be that, and only that, which by an uninterrupted succession hath descended from himself, which is that very same that first brought Christian religion and holy gospel into this land, which without all controversy is the Catholick, now by contempt surnamed *Papist*. And if any one be otherwise minded *etiam & hoc Deus ipsi revelabit*. In the mean time, let us be peaceable and sober.

§. 5. *Darknes of nature.*

THe second abyfs is that of Gods works, and the whole creation ; which all men, that have confidered it aright, find unfoardable ? And if any have not, let him but take a light furvey of this wondrous fabrick, and then tell me what he thinks.

When we confider thofe myriads of intelligencies, angels and fpirits, and the whole intellectual world, the firft exterior iffue of divine brightnes; we are not then much nearer to an apprehenfion of any thing in particular, than in the firft abyfs ; what they are, either for fubftance, or place, or operation, or extent of prefence, or knowledg, or degree of perfection, or power, or motion, or order, or any thing els in particular.

In the vifible world we begin a little to find our feeling, and know at leaft where we are : but not much more. Here we fee a wonderful face of things, but what els ? How did it firft iffue out of its ancient Nothing ? What is the bafis on which all the frame ftands, and how is it fetled upon it, in its various and ftupendious motions ? The order of things little or nothing appears ; their effences altogether unknown ; their properties, dependances, and mutual connexion obfcure ; their limits and vigour and duration and influences doubtful ; their motions uncertain ; the mode, method and chain of operation utterly hidden. And wherein then confifts the excellence of our fcience, that we fhould boast our felves, and condemn our neighbours. And what are we able to determin of the truth of thefe things without uncertainty and error.

This our ignorance of nature, as alfo of providence, is fufficiently infinuated in that folid piece of moral-divinity, commonly called *Job* ; from chap. 38. to 42. I will fet down a compendium of it. “ Where wast thou, faich the *Almighty* there to *Job*, when I laid the foundations of the earth ? who fet the meafures of it, and upon what are
“ the

"the foundations grounded? Who shut the seas with
 "doors, and put barres to it that it should proceed no
 "further? Canst thou command the morning, and ap-
 "point a place to Aurora? Hast thou entred into the depths
 "of the sea, or knowest the parts of the great deep? Do
 "the darksom doors of death stand open to thee, to go in
 "and out at pleasur. Where dwells light and darknes, and
 "what is the measure of the earth? Didst thou know ei-
 "ther when thou shouldst be born, or what is the number
 "of thy dayes? Where be the treasures of snow and hail;
 "which is the way of rain and thunder; and who the pa-
 "rent of ice and dew? Canst thou either join the Pleia-
 "des, or dissipate Arcturus, or caus the morning star to
 "rise? What is the order, mode and harmony of heaven;
 "or canst thou set down the reason of it? Will the cloud
 "com, or lightning go forth at thy command? Who
 "prepares meat for the raven or hungry lion: Or what
 "is the portion of understanding imprinted in the heart
 "of man and beast? When do the wild goats and hinds
 "bring forth, or what reason is ther of the number of their
 "moneths? Why does the wild ass neglect the nois of the
 "citty, and seek after the green mountains of his pasture?
 "Will the Rhinoceros serv thee, or plow up the clods of
 "thy valleys? Doth the Ostrich leav her eggs in the warm
 "sand, that thou mayest heat them in the dust? How coms
 "the Hors to neigh; and whence is the strength of his
 "back and terrour of his nostrils? What feathers the hawk,
 "or makes the eagle mount and build her nest in high pla-
 "ces? Where the carkas is, there will she be present. The
 "proud is disperst, and the arrogant brought to the dust.
 "Great Behemoth hath bones as pipes of brass, and gristles
 "as plates of iron. The Leviathan will not be drawn out
 "with a hook, nor wait upon thee as a servant. Out of
 "his mouth issue lamps of fire, and smoak out of his no-
 "strills; which way can you tame him? &c.

And although Doctor *Brown* say in his book entitled

Vulgar

Vulgar errors, that the difficulties of nature propounded there in *Job* will now adayes be easily answered by every puny schollar: yet those words of his be unwary; both because the intricacies of the creation are there propounded by no less a person than almighty God, as insoluble and noe to be dived into by man; as also because the Doctour, if he consider right, cannot but know, that he that wer able to give a satisfactory reason from the efficient causes, even of the smaller things in nature, as the wind or rain, would be able to tell what weather it would be, or what wind would blow every day in the year, in any part of the earth untill the worlds end: so firm and sure is the whole frame of nature: But such kind of puny schollers the world never yet saw. And although man sees and knows enough in nature, to make him admire and adore the Author, yet not enough to contend with him in questions and replies about it. The whole world is an immens intangled gordian knot, which the wisest of men could never yet untye, or discern the intermingled series of the many voluminous causes concatenated therein.

Even the progress of a poor plant from its seed to its decay, who can declare or conceiv it? So many several seeds both of plants and animals, how do they shoot forth so orderly into their parts and organs, peculiar each one to themselves? Where lies that celestial particle in the little seminal origen, which is the spring of life and motion in every thing? In the first primogenial sours, how is distinguished either kind from kind, or part from part in the same kind; and which is that part that is to run forth into the head, and which into the armes; and how is it don? I see wheat and barley, elm and oak, hors and man, to shoot up constantly each one from their own proper seed, in their own proper and peculiar mode and method; and perhaps an angel or intelligence may distinctly see the reason in the very seeds, but what man can do it? How comes so constant a variety of bulk, parts, odour, and colour unto flow-

ers? Ther is a reason it must needs be so, and no other wis than so; what is it? Be there, put case, a thousand plants upon earth, much mineral and metal within it, huge variety of birds, and fish, and beasts about it; what is it we know of all this, from the egge to the apple. If the earths semidiameter be three or four thousand miles, what lies hid in all that vast bosom? Do the seas meet in a center, as well as close in a surface? What preserves this vast globe of earth in its huge entrails, that it rot not, and tumble all into putrefied heaps, and we with it? What rivers run hurrying under ground, to and fro, crossing one another in several depths of earth, like veins in the great massy body; whence com they, and whither do they go? Pursue the river of Thames to his first original, and tell me how far it creeps under ground before its appearance: and whether it proceed at length from some greater subterraneous channel, like a small artery from a vein, & whence that underground channel it self flowes; and if from the ocean, from what part of it, and how, and where; and whether all rivers that appear in our hemisphere fall to us by some secret passage under earth from the seas of our Antipodes.

How comes the crumbling earth to be made to flow in tenacious liquid streams, so rare, and yet so strangely compact, that water even in a bottle can hardly be crowded nearer. What is the true nature of air, and the ethereal limits. The earth and sun which of them moves about the other? and why within the limits of the zodiaque. What is the order in that camp of glory over our heads? Are the stars like the stones in the street, without any rank as they seem to our eye? And what are they? holes in a solid firmament where the glimpses of glory above, dart forth unto the eyes of mortals, or solid bodies themselves, and all suspended in liquid air as our earth is: and what sustains either our earth or them? What shoves them on so equally in their cours? Do they move daily through all that vast expans; so that they must necessarily fly so many thou-

thousands of our miles in one half hours space as we conceive; or is that error ingendred in us by our own motion, either upon our own or the worlds axeltree? What creatures live there? or be ther in the univers no other corporal intellectual creatur, but man in this our earthly system, to serv contemplate and bless that infinite *holy One*, who is the conserver and caus of all things. A man of himself might easily doubt it. For it makes more to the glory of that great blessed *Being*, that he should be enjoyed praised and served in worlds innumerable, under innumerable degrees of perfection, by creatures intellectual of several modes, constitutions and excellencies, rather than only in this one world of ours; a world of known ignorance and darknes, a world of sin and malice that probably may lye under som unknown malediction, it knows not his own weal, and as little heeds it when it is known, a world of much naughtines, and so far alienated from God and true piety and peace, that *Origen* seems not irrationally to conceive it to be a hous of correction for offendours, delivered up for som space unto the prince of darknes, not much beside the fanfy of good *S. Paul*, who was as good a philosopher as divine, to inveigle, harraiss, and plague us for a season.

This Book of the creation, or volum of Gods works, is a noble and most excellent Bible; opened to us here on earth, altho in part only for our exercise, being intellectual indeed, but the most infantile intellect that can be imagined, opened I say to us to look on, as little children upon a primmer, whose letters they see, but know none of them, nor yet their connexion or end; to other more excellent corporeal creatures in the stars above, if any be there, for further understanding and knowledg; and to incorporeal intelligences, for a more absolute apprehension. But our looking upon the world is not to be merely sensual and exterior, as a hors or a cow looks up to the sun, but a savory and affectionate speculation, if we will have it a human action,

tion, our want of knowledg being supplied by love, in admiring that power whose works we see indeed, but cannot comprehend.

Hence it might not irrationally be believed, although religion were silent, that the soul of man is surely immortal; and that an intellect such as mans is, being admitted by his creatour to a rational sight of his works, as all know ours is, and the bruits is not, shall at length be translated unto som better state of more perfect and comprehensive knowledg, both of his works and providence and essence too, which here we cannot attain. For so we use to put little books into the hands of our infant children, when they can make little more use of them then a bruit, to accustom them to the outward sight of that, they shall afterward in their riper growth more fully understand. But we do not the like to young whelps or fawns, altho at their birth they seem far more mature than one of our slaving babes; because the nature of those creaturs will in no state be able to reach the knowledg. Hence I say may proceed a suspicion of our souls immortality, which is afterward strengthened by philosophy and religion. The beasts of the field see nothing but their food; but man sees, that is, considers and admires all things visible and invisible, in his human life I mean and operation. For man is so set in the horizon of eternity and corruption, that he may betake himself unto which life he pleases, either human or bestial. And it is in his power either to make himself a beast or angel; this by superiour and intellectual; that by inferiour and sensual propensions, thoughts and operations: but with this difference, that a created angel or intelligence shall still have a greater amplitude of intellect by precedency of nature, and exacter clearnes of thought by segregation from our grosser matter, but a made angel or the spirit of a man angelized, may have notwithstanding through the difficulty of his combat a greater crown of glory and comfort at the feet of his Maker. On the other side, if a man make himself a beast, he becoms worse than any bruit, Not

Not to stray from my purpos. The gulf of the creation is indeed but a secondary abyss and nearer to our feeling, but far also from our comprehension. Sith we neither know the natur of those visible bodies we behold both above and below us; nor the manner of their first rise, when they started out of their former Nothing; nor their dependances one upon another; nor their motions; nor the concatenation of effects and causes; nor the limit and extent either of the elements and stars, or of all the univers together.

For is the world finite! Where ends it? In the highest stars? Who can tell, if we war there, but that our eye should still discover other new glittering systems, at as great a distance from us then, as these be now; and so forward without end. If we imagin an edge or outward rim of the univers, let us conceiv, as it is not impossible that a man were set there and preserved in his being; where should his head be? out of the world, and no where? could he there think, or speak, or put forth his finger, or cast a stone; and all this in nothing, and beyond the whole univers! Can an imaginary thing be as capable of real action as naturall place? Is God really there beyond all this univers, or no? if not, then must he be limited to the extension of his works, and his immensity as much confined as they. If he be really there, as he is here, I cannot see, but that it is as reall a place as this wherein the world stands; namely if we take place not according to the definition of *Aristotle*, *Ultimum continentis*, &c. which description provides well for the placing of a house or tree, not at all for the univers, which according to that description is in no place at all, but according to the true and genuin natur of place, as it is the *Immovable basis* of a body, penetrating and penetrated by it. For this is the true reason of primary absolute and essential place; whereas *Aristotle* describes only that which is secondary, accidental and relative. Essential place is naturally before any body placed in it; but accidental place described by *Aristotle* must needs be

after it, as a meer relation of the containing to the contained body. Lastly if the world be finite, as mans understanding is more prone to think, becaus of the incongruities in reason, apprehended in a supposal of infinity, not indeed to be grasped by mans intellect, who can say where the incongruities be greater? about an infinite something, or an infinite nothing? If the world be finite in its real being, the imaginary or no being must be infinite; where also, it is as possible for Gods unlimited power to place worlds without end, as he hath don this here. Who dare say he cannot do it, who can say he has not don it? This then is absolutely uncertain unto us, as we are left to our selves, and not to be defined by man. Nor do the reasons produced by Philosophers against the worlds infinity, inferre any greater absurdity, than a finite world inferrs, perhaps less. And if those reasons be well pried into, we shall find, that generally those philosophers endeavouring to show the absurdities of a real categorematical infinity, which we cannot grasp, do notwithstanding so argue against it, as if they had grasped it; which is a great and ordinary fallacy in all their arguments against infinity either of time or magnitude. I intend not here to maintain any thing but onely this, that our reason left to it self can certainly make out nothing.

Those innumerable shining lights we behold in the firmament, there glittering and twinkling without ceas, *S. Austin* doubted, if they were not beatified bodies, wherein glorified creaturs might have their residence in bliss. And we may doubt it still, for aught I know. Were those huge bodies of glory in their several stations and magnitudes, made onely for us to sleep by? We can mean no other, when we say so confidently, that all the whole univers was made onely for our use? For our use, I doubt not, som part in one kind, som in another; but to say or think, only for our use, the use we now make of it, is in my mind but a weakish fancy. The sun moon and other planets we know

know som use of; of the stars in the firmament little or none at all, but onely for our wonderment. What needed so many for our use? Why of that divers magnitude? such candles all of a bignes would seem to us, both more handsome and convenient. Why in that uncouth scituation, that the greatest wit can make no more of it, than childrens imaginations of phantastick shapes in the clouds? Why thousands so obscure, that hardly discernable, and likely thousand others seldom or never seen by us at all. And what is the use we have of them? Do they make our sleeps sounder, or our dreamis more or less? Do not the beasts of the field, especially those of prey, make more use of them than man, who is commonly going to bed after the sun, when the wild beasts go forth to their prey by starlight. And amongst men the better any one is, the less use hath he of the stars. For the drunkard, thief, and adulterer do their works generally by night. The greatest use I know we have of those glorious bodies, is to rais us up to a devout contemplation of that invisible and almighty *Being*, from whence have issued so many visible glories of himself. For to say those firmament stars serv for the effecting an alteration of states and kingdoms, translation of empires, wars and peace, civility and barbarism, religion, deluges and the like, is a meer ungrounded conjectur: such all these things might be sufficiently promoted by the inferiour planets & concurs of other causes, for aught any one can tell, without any star in the firmament at all. And yet even those uses are but very small and inconsiderable for such vast bodies to be only ordained for, if truly asserted. One use is certain, to rais us to the meditation of things invisible, and to lead us up by degrees, even as themselves are seated one above another, like so many greeces in the ethereal expans, unto that hidden *Being* who is the caus of all. And this is for us, who have all our necessities otherwayes supplied, use enough. But he that therfor thinks they have no other use in themselves, becaus they serv us in this, is but yet in his

young thoughts, and sees not beyond his own untutoured imagination.

For considering that those glorious bodies, or even in our demonstrated and uncontrouled reason, as excessively more specious and beautiful, so also far greater than our whole globe of Earth wherein we live, even twenty-fold som of them and upwards, why should all those vast capacities be in vain? Why may not we rather think intellectual substances resident therein with bodies more and less refined, in degrees and modes and fashions to us altogether unknown, who might chant out the praises of the almighty *One*, in measures answerable to their condition without end? Can this seem to any man unreasonable? So the ancient wise men among the Pagans, *Democritus*, *Pythagoras*, and several other great Philosophers conceived, for the greater honour and glory of the first Caus. And shall they be more zealous of Gods glory than we? or shall we Christians be the onely hidebound Philosophers in the world, not able to conceiv any thing beyond the eye and imagination of a child.

The eminent French Philosopher *De Cartes*, conceited the twinkling stars we see, and innumerable others we discover not, to be in their ranks and places, as so many suns in the firmament, about which move Planets or bodies unto us here altogether invisible, except we either rise higher, or they descend towards us in their motion, warmed and vegetated by their fires, as we by our sun. If it be thus, as well it may, for aught I can know of my self, what a strange consort of hymnes and praises rise up in the Univers, continually and without ceas, as incens in several keys of musick, unto that great *holy One* who made us all, to supply the defects of those small pittiful services we poor worms perform unto him, in this our earthly system! This may seem far more rational, than to think that we gross corporeal creaturs and sensual sinners, are the only people in the Univers who serv the *Almighty*; and that all those eminent

nent bright-shining systems above us, whose order, method, properties, bulk, and natur is so obscure unto us, as there set and appointed for nothing els but only for our use, which we cannot yet say what it is: and when we have imagined our utmost, is not of the value of any one star in the firmament; or that bodies of their vast capacity should be utterly empty, and have no creatur at all within them.

I should of my self be so far from thinking, that the stars of the firmament are onely for our use; that I should doubt, whether the very elements amongst which we live & breath, earth, fire, aier, and water, and the beasts, minerals and plants contained in them, are onely made to serv us, tho chiefly intended for our benefit. The very gradual perfections of natur, hath in it self a worth and decency becoming the Creatour, tho man had never been. And ther be certainly other creaturs above man, tho to us invisible, who contemplate nature better than man either will, or can do. If all had been only aimed for our use, would not a less sea have served our turn, and fewer birds, beasts, fish and plants. What use have we of all the great depth of earth under us to the center, or large vast æther about us? And if we were such absolute Lords of the world, as we conceiv our selves to be, how is it that nothing at all in natur is at our command? not the sea, not the aier, not the earth it self, nor any thing upon it or in it, will either com, or go, or alter, or stop his cours at our pleasur: which King *Cannus* observed well, when standing with his Nobles by the Thames side, he perceived the tide to rush upon him, altho he had commanded it to com no nearer. What kind of vassails be these inferiour natures under man, that will obey us in just nothing? Besides, when any one is absolute maister of a hous, wholly destined to his use, surely such a one can go and com into any room therof without controul. But let man walk down either into the bottom of his seas to see his fish there; or into the cellars of his earth amongst the mettals, and tell me if he be not still d,

as soon as another creatur. But if he once attempt to mount the upper rooms of his habitation, tho it be but into the first or second region of the air, he shall fail at the very first step. For his ethereal greeces will not bear the gross unweildly bulk of their Lord. So ill is the hous fitted for the maisters constitution, from the very top to the bottom. Can we not honour and bless God, for the use he hath lent us of all these things, which is great and various, but we must by the vanity of our hearts appropriate and monopolise the univers to our selves, as if it were for no other use at all, but ours.

The manifold use and services we have of the stars and elements, beasts, birds, fish and plants, which do all administer unto man in something or other, according to the exigence either of his necessities thence to be supplied, or his corporal delight, or mental speculation to be furnished from that great Body, which the divine goodness therfor made before man that in the first instant of his being he should want nothing, ought to make us thankful but not proud. And so the holy Prophet, admiring the excellency and perfection of place that mankind by his creators goodnes hath over other visible creatures, amongst whom he livs; and the various uses he hath of them, doth in one of his sweet psalms invite man thereupon, to magnifie this his great benefactor, who set him in so high a place when he needed not to have put him in any. And if man do so, he shall do well. But he must not appropriate more to himself than is given, or instead of being thankful for the dominion he has received, vainly conceited a dominion he has not.

Aristotle fancied our earth to be the center of the Univers, and the stars to be a fift essence, differing from all the four elements, placed in the circumference. But the great wits of the world that lived before him, *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus*, *Epicure*, were of another mind. And although our Christian Schoolmen, have
now

now for five or six hundred years explicated and defended the principles of their religion, even in the way of *Aristotle*, by which for a thousand years it had been opposed by the pagan, yet do they not intend to mix his philosophy with those principles of their faith. Nor does the great Christian Church therfor canonise his philosophy for truth, becaus she suffers her own truths to be declared and explicated by it. If Christianity be true, it fears no antagonists; but will bear the test of any right philosophy. Yet philosophy, that it may be right indeed, must be corrected, and ordered by this divine truth, as well as this is explicated in som things by it. And if another Christian philosopher should explicate his faith now afresh, in the way of *Democritus* or *Pythagoras*, as in the first times of the Church it was declared in the way of *Plato*, and in these latter ages by *Aristotle*; so he do it piously and warily, and square not his rule of faith by them, but them by it; I cannot see, why it may not commendably be don. But then as he does use those explications to satisfie a Pythagorean or Epicurean; so must he confidently reject as dissonant to right reason, what he finds unapt to square with the received truths of *Jesus Christ*, as we do now deal with *Aristotle*. This if it were don, as Christian religion will be justified, when it is perceived to stand with the right reason of any Philosophy; so likewise when another Philosophy contrary to *Aristotles* is once understood, all the whole univers both for number, weight, and measure, its essences, relations, concatenation, origin, life, and qualities would hang as loose, suspense, and doubtful, as if nothing had been ever said of it. *Aristotles* reasons will make *Democritus* and his disciples doubted: and again, the great learning and subtilty of *Democritus*, *Anaxagoras*, *Epicure*, *Empedocles* will as much disable *Aristotle*. And the doubt may be as pregnant among Christians as other men, where the catholick Church interposes not the authority of som received tradition, to cast

the scales. But whether she do this or no is not to my purpos now in hand, who intend only to insinuate unto such, as multiply opinions about religion both without and against that Church, that even nature itself is vastly obscure and unknown to man, who lives in it; and nothing in a manner, but only what enters our senses, can be so certainly known and concluded by any, that he may prudently either swagger or fight for his opinion. And religion, and the things of another world must needs be yet more obscure, than those of this.

It is observable, that *Christ* and *Moses*, and other holy Apostles and Prophets, when in their discourses they touch incidentally upon things of nature, their chief purpos being ever to teach the way of vertue and true piety, they comply oftentimes to the capacity and judgment of the hearer, whatever it be. So *Christ* our Lord told us, that at the small day, the stars shall fall from heaven, insinuating by that, amongst his other expressions, the great disturbance of nature then to happen; wherein comets, which the vulgar calls stars, may shoot indeed, but the Philosophers stars cannot fall upon us out of the firmament, except all return to the old Chaos, and one System mix with another; which that it cannot be conceived to do our Lords following discourse sufficiently insinuates. *Moses* calls the sun and moon the two greater lights, and the stars of the firmament the lesser, altho contrary to philosophicall truth, when he intended only to declare unto people, that have vulgarly such conceptions of them, that sun and moon and all the other stars and planets were equally created, by that God he revealed. The *Psalmist* under the similitude of an Eagle which renews his youth, expresses moral renovation; which he might well do, such men had so fancied of the eagle, whether indeed he do so, or not. The like compliance was used by him, who told the people that the stars in their ranks fought against their enemies, in which phrase he insinuated Gods providence in battles,

battles, condescending to the peoples imagination, who looked upon the stars as a pitched field of champions under the Lord of those hosts of heaven, to defend the innocent. Thus leaving us in the same imagination about things of nature they found us in, they endeavoured all of them only to chalk us out the right way unto that felicity, wherof the knowledge of these and other wonderments of Gods power shall be the least part; by serving him as we ought, from whom have issued prodigies we shall never know in this life, and who is himself the wonder of all wonders, onely to be seen and known in the other.

Having seriously perused the Schools and learning of the ancient Pagan *Philosophers*, this I find; that their disciples however conceited of their demonstration and knowledge, did rather believe, than know any thing. And the first master invented himself, properly speaking, not so much a philosophy, as faith. Take *Aristotle* and his School on one side; *Democritus* and *Epicure* on the other. These two Schools were mainly opposite, both in their principles, and whole body of learning. And yet none that understand them well, can tell by any strength of nature or force of their arguments, which of them is with truth. According to learned *Democritus* and *Epicure*, all things began in time by a fortuite concurs of atoms, which in all eternity had filled the immensity of space. And as these made the world, so do they by their incessant mobility work continually insensible alterations, till after long time they fly all stunder again, and make casually another world either here again, or in some other part of the immens space; haply of another mode and fashion unto this. So that matter upon this account is all, and does all. According to *Aristotle* the world had no beginning, but partial generations daily; wherein form gives the act and essence, and matter is so far from being all, that it is but a pure potentiality, and *prope nihil*, almost just nothing. These were the opposite principles of two differing Philosophies.

phies. But wer they known or evident to either of the maisters? I trow not. And if they had sought for an argument to prove them, they had laboured in vain. One therfor conceited that *Matter was all things*; the other that *Matter was nothing*, &c. And upon this conceit, which nothing but the authority of the Maister, to whom they would adhere, fastened upon the disciples, they raised a Philosophy of their own; which being thus founded upon a human faith or fansy, all their following ratiocinations could never effect, that it should be rather called knowledge than fantosm, or at best but beleef and faith.

And this is the reason why the ancient Christian Priests, grave and learned men, who had entertained an esteem of their maister above all mortal men, would never give way, that the articles of Christian faith should be tried by the principles, either of *Aristotelian* or *Epicurean* beleef. And since the disciples of those men, would adhere so firmly to fals and indemonstrated principles of human teachers, these thought it much more reasonable, that they should hold constantly, what they had received from a divine maister, and not submit to the test of such ungrounded inevident and contradicting principles of men, as much opposite one to another, as all perhaps to Christian faith, even *Aristotles* philosophy as well as the rest. What more assured pillars be there in *Aristotles* School than these. *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* 2. *Quod incipit esse, desinit esse.* 3. *Quae sunt eadem in aliquo tertio, eadem sunt inter se.* 4. *Accidentis esse est inesse.* 5. *Ex duobus entibus in actum fit unum.* 6. *A privatione ad habitum non datur regressus*; not to mention others. And yet those catholick priests might well suspect, that these axioms, though they made a flourishing show, would in their full literal sens, carry a meaning contrary to truth and Christian principles; first to the creation, second to the souls immortality, third to the Trinity, fourth to the Eucharist, fifth to the Incarnation, sixth to the Resurrection. And therfor had they just reason

reason to deny to have their faith tried by fals touchstones.

Some ages after rose our Christian philosophers, whom we commonly call *Schoolmen*. These raised a fine piece of art upon Christian principles, defended and made good even in *Aristotles* way, which is called School divinity. And, becaus the forenamed and such other *Aristotelian* axioms carried a plausible appearance of truth in the ear, they did accept them indeed, but in a sence of their own. So that they do not in this Christian school, make out that sence they did in the others; though they bear the same sound. And it is pretty to see, how one and the same proverb is made in several schools to butteres up wayes that be destructive to one another. God made the world in time, saith the Christian, and none but he could do it. For it is not in the power of any creature, no not of the highest intelligence to make a thing of nothing. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, of nothing is nothing made, nameli by the power and force of nature, though it may by God the first caus; so speaks the Christian philosopher. The world is eternal, saith *Aristotle*, and could not be made in time: either by the meeting of atomes; for their concours is disorderly and casual, and *opus natura*, *opus intelligentia*; nor yet by the first caus himself, out of pure nothing; for *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, of nothing can nothing be made, either by God or nature; so speaks *Aristotle*. The world is not eternal, saith *Epicure*, but made in time without the assistance of any deity, which if any ther be, must be ever at rest; out of the eternal matter of ever moving atomes. It must be made either of them, or of nothing; and *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, of nothing can nothing be made, either in time or eternity, either by any second caus, or by the first. And the same atomes by their own connatural mobility do make and marre, do and undo all things; so speaks *Epicure*.

In these & a thousand such like contexts that employ the world, does not a credulity once fixed fill up both the pages of the book? And all consequent ratiocination, disputes and

and arguments, are they any thing els but colourable explanations of this fore-conceived inevident credulity? Since then all sciences stand upon som one or other basis of belief, which is a *Postulatum* not to be examined, this world may indeed be esteemed credulous, but not knowing. And all masters of any whatever schools have equal need to set this motto over their school doors, *Oportet discentem credere*. "He that will learn must believe. And when he has learned all truths can be taught him, he does but only believe, that he has learned any. And so I take my leave of this second great abyss of nature.

§. 6. *Mystery of providence.*

THe third and last abyss, is the great gulf of Gods *Providence*, in the government of the world, equally as deep and unfoardable by man as the former, tho we may sometimes perceiv som little glimmerings of it, as an owl of the sun; but even these are uncertain and doubtful. And it is so much the more perillous, than either of the rest; for that in the other, we follow Gods power, wisdom and goodness, so much the more admiring all things, by how much the less we understand. But in this we are apt to call every thing in question, and our thoughts, if they be not well bridled, ready at every turn to accuse God, and plead against him, to the peril of his heavy displeasur. And therefore he did very cautious and wisely, who finding a doubt to rise within himself concerning providence, subscribed beforehand to Gods inerrable justice, before he would enter into any party about his proceedings, *Iustus et Dominus*, saith he, *Iust art thou O Lord, but why doth the way of the wicked prosper?* Is ther any man livs upon earth from the lowest hind to the highest philosopher, that hath not perceived the depth of providence, and the absolute inscrutability of Gods wayes in the government of the whole creation; as a gulf without bottom, where resignation

admits,

adores, and presumption drowns. My thoughts have frequently hovered upon the shore of this ocean, but I durst never pass further on, than so far as I saw ground, there dipping my hands and feet to follow God and pray, but no further. Nor did I ever receive from any writings or discourses of man, any satisfaction therein: and none I expect.

For what are those immortal laws God hath fixedly prescribed, either to the earth, elements or stars, which they never transgress; who is he can tell? They are many no doubt, and various; in order to him the first cause; in order to the several things contained within them; and in order to one another. For they must all make up one great *Plan* or *Univers*, be it never so big. And all things doubtless within the whole body of this univers, are done regularly, truly and justly, according to the prescribed idea rule and measure, the will, order and law, of the first cause, disposer and governour, who is the way, truth and life to all the whole creation. What the angels know herof cannot be certainly conjectured, nor whether any one be absolute and universal overseer under God of the whole visible creation. If any Intelligence stand limited to the oversight and guidance of any one place, put case our earth or a star, he may hardly not know the laws of another, no further than they concern his own system; nay perhaps not all the laws of his own, but such onely as himself is to manage. For even some of these, which concern him not to use, may lye covert in that great will, on whose revelation every intellect depends. And thus a miracle may be wrought by God almighty, even beside or contrary to the cours of nature, which is administered by angels. But man for certain knows none of these laws, no not any. Let him exalt himself never so much in his own vanity; he knows not, I say, any of those rules by which either the whole univers, or our own earth and elements are governed.

Man is indeed the highest creature visible upon earth,
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and the most excellent kind that is known to our eyes; but who can therfor say, there be not others above him, more knowing and more powerful than he; and more conversant in the government even of this our visible world, than they appear not to our sight. We have indeed a preheminence of perfection, but not of operation, over any thing in nature; which is a superiority natural, not moral. And therfor in all probability there must be som creatur over us with both the precedencies, far more perfect than any under them; and guiding also the motions of other things well known to himself; if namely God have committed the administration of this present world, unto any other under his own influence and ordination. *St. Paul* seems to conceit that these spirits are evil ones, whom he calls *Re-flores tenebrarum harum*; but ther must be good ones too, to moderate the ill influence of those malign agents, or else man that livs upon earth is in a sad condition. But as for us, what do we know of all this for certain, or what can we do? We can neither rais a wind, or other meteor, nor assuage the sea, nor still an earthquake, &c. not only destitute of power to do it, but of knowledg also, how it should be don. Ther be many creaturs under us, that is to say, inferiour in perfection of nature, as birds, beasts, and plants; but they are not under us at all either in direction, or subordination of motion. We neither teach the birds to build their nest, or to ingender or provide for their young, or put forth the wing to flight, or to appear and hide themselves in their season; nor the fish to swim, to get food and defence against annoiances, or to chouse their resort and stations in the liquid main, or those several wayes they have for multiplication and livelihood; nor do we put the fanly into the bee or little ant, to work their tasks in season, with the art and industry they show in it; nor do we move the plants to their growth and ripenes; nor do we know our selves, how these or any other things in nature are wrought. Thus destitute are we of any rules

of providence, whereby this world is either set, or kept in order; that we neither prescribe them, nor see them observed, nor do our selves understand them. We are neither called to advise for the ordering of the being of things under us, or is our help required for their conserving, or our suffrage demanded for the putting a period to their existences.

And are not we in the mean time goodly rulers and disposers of the world, that have neither hand in the making, or guiding of it. I knew once an *Innocent* that took a fancy in his brain, that he was master & disposer of all the burdens that came up in barges and lighters by a river that ran through the town: and would constantly be upon the bridge at the hour they were to unload, where standing very serious and attentiv, as soon as he saw the porters to carry forth out of any barge a burden of coal or corn or other provision, he still bad them aloud and with authority to take it, and carry it that way which he saw them go; & all the day long he was never disobeyed. Such masters and governors are we of this world, with power to bid a bird to fly, or ant to creep, or wolf to run, or heavens to move even as we see they do; and so we are obeyed and no otherways; nor no otherways do we know, either what they will or ought to do. We do indeed feed upon some creatures, which we either ensnare or stand tame to our hands, and tirannize over some others, subjugating them, either by subtilty or force, will they nill they to our yoke: but this is no more than the beast, fish, and birds do to one another.

And as for the ebbing and flowing of these several events and accidents, that be proper only unto man, as peace and war, wealth and poverty, arts, policy, laws, languages, religion and the like; what a labyrinth is he in, that enters into consideration of their varieties and causes, the ends and motives of them. If religion be a thing so necessary to our salvation, how is it that our good God left the

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Gentiles, for so many hundred years all over the face of the earth, to walk after the errors of their mind, in the blindness and darknes of their understanding ? What had they don, will the naturall man say, before they were born, to deserv it ; and if they be so dealt withal without desert, how does Gods justice appear. And again, if a particular religion be not necessary, for example the Christian ; and that grace is universal and equally distributed to all men ; why did Christ our Lord both give himself the trouble to teach it, and put those poor harmles men his apostles to so many labours, necessities, and dangers of death to plant it in the world. And how coms it, that even this religion now revealed and preacht makes so small progres, and brings forth so little fruit among us ; and that the Turk and his Alcoran should cast it forth out of the many goodly Territories, where it did once so gloriously triumph and flourish, *Syria, Egypt, Africa, Greece* ; and heresies and schisms out of other places.

The assurance of our own souls immortality, would conduce not a little to the exciting of our dull and drowsy spirits, unto a more quick and lively care of our future bliss ; and so dull we are and doubtful of all things, that it were almost necessary we had it. And yet we are, God wot, so far from that, that we even doubt our selves, whether we our selves have any thing immortal in us ; nor is ther left an argument in nature to convince us of it : to the end that even that which is most near unto us, our own immortal spirit, might be as true an object of our faith, as any of the things that be farther off. I have seen the arguments of *Campanel, Pomponatius, De cartes* and *Gassendus*, four great wits, many sublime Platonists, and acute Aristotelians more, of whom subtile *Scotus*, will by such as understand him, haply be judged the Prince ; and yet perceiv well enough, that a quick subtile Atheist will find enough, to deny and cavil against them all. That moral argument of *S. Paul*, *That we should otherwise be of all creatures the most*

most miserable, is a very good one, whether the comparison run between man and beast, or between Christians and Infidels, and serves beleivers well enough. But if it be meant betwixt man and beast; then against one scale of the ballance, filled up with the freedom from all solicitude and full sincere content inferiour animals enjoy above man, who is ever pestered with the cares of this world, the Atheist would easily, to make the ballance even, cast into the other scale, the many various perfections both of mind and body, and variety of pleasures proper to man, which may enough exalt his condition above beasts, although he were wholly mortal; and so frustrate the argument. The like may be don, if the comparison run betwixt Christians and Infidels; tho here perhaps the argument is more pressing; if we speak of the old Christians, and not of these new ones, whose religion is onely words and prattle.

Is it not a strange thing, that man the most excellent of creatures upon earth should be so left to his own disposition, to turn and swarv as he pleases, either to right hand or left, and by that means to fill the earth with injurious disorders and enormities of sin, which might as well have ever remained innocent and peaceable; whilst all other creatures both above and below us, go on orderly in their courses prescribed by their maker, without any irregularity or deviation. Does not every good maister of a house, keep his whole family in order, if he can, and know how to do it? And God wants neither wisdom power or goodness, that he should be either not desirous, or ignorant, or not able to make all actually good. What chain of causes may unriddle these things, or declare why man should be the onely mad creature upon earth, &c not be able to work, as regularly with reason, as other parts of the creation do without it. So long as we hold to our old faith we do not doubt or stagger in these things, but if we once begin to reason against it, where are we then. All things are in daily change, both to Kingdoms in general and each mans particular person, both

in matter of fame, wealth, power, and other accidents. But how do all these things happen as they do? What is the immediate caus efficient, what the final, where doth the justice appear? Histories tell us of little els but wars, battles, desolations, deluges, translation of empires, the rise and downfal of kingdoms in their power, renown, and civility, alteration of states and lawes, succession of deepest barbarism to most high civility, and again of most exquisite civility unto horridest barbarism, mutation of languages, pestilences, oppression, &c. By what lawes of the almighty are all these things ordered, and what justice inflicts such heaps of misery upon feeble mankind? especially since we see with our eyes, that all invasion which sets a foot the greatest and most common changes is generally unjust? If we do but only consider the horrid turmoils, that have been at times in our own countrey by the Romans and Brittons, Brittons and Saxons, Saxons and Normans, Scotch and English, the two houses of York and Lancaster; nay but the meer troubles of these last twenty years from 1640. to 1660. whereof we have been spectators and sufferers, nor will ther any pen be able to set down the miseries we have undergone, wherein rebellion prevailed over loyalty, dissimulation over truth, tenant over Lord, subject over King, even to the murdering of that sacred person by a pretended form of justice, in the face of the world, without any caus exhibited against him, but only his own defence against their rebellion, and the depriving his loyal subjects of their estates, liberties, and lives, soldiers all the land over hovering daily over our heads, like ravens over sick and dying bodies, &c. What justice, what providence appears to us in all these things? Are we not as blind as beetles to discern it? The iniquity of man we understand well enough; but Gods justice in so ordering or permitting it, who can discern? And yet there is doubtles a reason in heaven for all.

What distinction appears in this world betwixt the just
man

man and unjust ? save that uprightnes and honesty for the most part goes to the worst. Is it not a mystery, that so many innocent souls, persons of most exact vertue and good conscience, both towards God and man, should walk up and down many of them, hungry and half starved, traduced and comfortles, of whom the world is not worthy ; whereas the slightest of men, even vanity and sensuality it self, vaunts it in silks and fulnes of all plenty.

I should be infinite, if I should specify the innumerable uncouth changes and chances in this world ; all which carry no reason or equity at all in their forehead. The stories of empires and kingdoms from the beginning of time to this day, the records of all provinces, the lives of all particular persons in the world, are all but little draughts and epitomies of this great amazement : all whose causes since they be so utterly unknown to us, that we can discern no reason or right for them, which notwithstanding there needs must be ; it appears that we know of our selves as little of this great abyss, as of the former. And it concerns us, I should think, not to be puffed up, as generally we are, in our opinions ; but to humble our selves, wherein consists our greatest wisdom, before the great creatour and governour of the world, as well in this as other secrets altogether unsearchable, and say ; Surely thou O Lord art just and wise, and entirely upright in all thy wayes, altho we wome: understand it not. For *Shall not the judg of all the world do right ?* Shall not he do right himself that judges and punishes every creature for their iniquity and wrong. Yet one of those Histories I cannot but touch upon, and that only in reference to the abovenamed unsearchableness of Gods judgments, which is the

Story of the Cimbrians.

others there be, hundreds of the same nature ; but because this is nearer home, I choos to mention it.

The old *Cimbri*, *Cambri*, or *Cumbri*, in several times and places severally pronounced, were a great people and

valorous, in France vulgarly called *Gauls*, in England *Brittōns*, in Scotland *Picts*, and elsewhere otherwaies; but descended all, if I be not mistaken, from one hous and stock. These were the first people in these our northern coasts that embraced Christianity, from them derived to the Irish, then and a thousand years before that time a most potent and renowned nation, whom the very Romans themselves durst never invade. But whether the Irish were of any consanguinity with the *Cimbrians* it is hard to say. And as they first imbraced it, so did they both receive it most gladly, and profess it fervently, and maintained it constantly. Indeed the *Gauls* were never all of them converted, but great and numerous families were Christian there, even in the first ages of the Church; and their altars and oratories were private indeed, but most devoutly frequented. The *Brittōns* after their conversion by *Elutherius*, as they were a stout nation, so did they seem to be proud of nothing so much as this, that they were champions of the *Crucifix*, or crucified Lord. The *Picts* were nothing less either hearty, or valorous professors than they. But see the judgment. All these brave and valiant people the first owners and professors of Christian faith in our northern parts, and, as far as the memory of man can reach, the very *Aborigines* and first inhabitants of the place where respectively they dwelt, are now so far blown off from the very face of the whole earth; that of the ancient *Picts* not a man is remaining: the *Gauls* are so few, if any yet remain in *Normandy* or other parts of *France* mixed with the French blood, that none can point them out: & our *Brittōns* are reduced to a handful of people remaining at this day amongst the mountains of *Wales*, which yet is the greatest and most conspicuous portion of those noble *Kimbri*, so much renowned in ancient times for their policy and valour. The *Irish* have been some hundred years in their decline. And it must needs have been a mighty strong Oak, long a growing, and long in its full confi-

consistency, that is so long a dying. But in the last three hundred years the nation hath decayed more than before in twice the time, in the last of the three more than in the other two, and in the last twenty years of that century, more than in the other fourscore. So that now the nation is even at the last gasp, and ready to expire, except some princely hand, strengthened from heaven, and the tutelary angels of the Kingdom prevent their utter ruin.

But the *Irish*, because no body else could subdue them, did, as it often happens to strong bodies, distemper themselves. The *Gauls* were overwhelmed by the French. The *Brittons* and *Picts* were blown like butterflies by a strong wind, these into the Eastern sea, those upon the strand of the Western. The *Brittons* indeed driven by a Saxon army from the East, kept themselves from drowning; but the *Picts* were chased by the Scot out of the West into the very Eastern Ocean, and were never seen nor heard of since. And all these sad sufferers, now in a manner chased from the face of the earth, were most devout adorers of the worlds Messiah, most zealous old Christians, who payed their daily homage to the God of heaven and earth, before their holy altars, in the union of their crucified Oblation made for the sins of the world: and their persecuting conquerors, so many as had any, were all paynims that worshipped either planets or devils. What can we do but stand amazed, astonished, and trembling at these wondrous judgments! and humbly casting down our eyes, adore that supreme Deity, whose wayes are unsearchable.

The Pagans then alive, and spectators of these judgments, who were wont to impute to the impiety of Christian religion even the mischances of other men, would have a reason in readines for the heavy misfortunes that befel Christians themselves; especially for the *Picts* and *Brittons*, who having lived paynims for so many ages in glory, within an age or two after they had preferred their crucified Redeemer before the heathen gods, were brought to a

general and most precipitous ruin, whence they never yet recovered themselves. But this their argument drawn from heaven, heaven it self in some sort confuted; when a while after, by the working mercy of him they had opposed in his professours, all those pagan adversaries, *French, Scot,* and *Saxons* were brought to worship that very self-same crucified diety, themselves had persecuted before. But still the judgment of God in these, and innumerable such like passages of this world, are absolutely incomprehensible. And it is no unreasonable service, that man, who is but dust and ashes, should submit to him who is infinite wisdom, power and goodness, both body and mind, both his will and understanding too, even in all things that concern the disposition and government of the world. This our own peace and safety requires. This the angels of God, who watch over us, expect at our hands, whom indeed nothing so highly provokes, as our impatience and blasphemy against their sovereign Lord, whose judgments even they also with a reverential fear, do submissively adore and tremble at. Which made wise Salomon to give unto mankind that great caution, *Ne dicas coram angelis, Non est providentia*, Do not say, before Angels, There is no providence.

If Christianity teach us true, neither do men dye, nor kingdoms decay, meerly because their hour is come and period out. But *per inobedientiam venit, peccatum in mundum & per peccatum mors*. The Amorritans could not be destroyed, saith the sacred text, till their iniquities were filled up. And what the brave nation of the *Kimberians* might have done, either before their conversion or after it, to deserve that dismal downfall, God only knows. But this we know, that what ever God does in the world, is just and good. If they acted the evil before their conversion, it were a mercy in God to defer their punishment, till they knew how to make it beneficial; if after, they then knew that when iniquity goes before, penance must needs fol-

low. And being now made Christians, they were taught generally to beleev, that the governours and powers of darknes, whom before they served, being now made their enemies, would work them all the mischief heaven should permit, and that there were no other remedy, but only, that preparing themselves for afflictions, they should labour in patience to possess their souls. But if they had done ill, ill should com of it accordingly; and the punishment should answer to the transgression. For the decree is set and fixed from all eternity in heaven, upon every nation upon earth, and delivered to the angel-governors thereof, to see it put in execution in its season, upon every people and kingdom; *Quantum glorificavit se & in deliciis fuit, tantum date illi luctum; quia in corde suo dicit, sedeo regina; & vidua non sum, & luctum non videbo, ideo in una die venient plaga ejus, fames mors & luctus; quia fortis est Deus qui judicabit illam.* And by this decree have long ago been judged all the great empires of the world, as also lesser provinces; the Babylonians, Egyptians, Argives, Athenians, Lacedæmonians, Romans, Persians, Sicilians, Macedonians, Bactrians, Syrians, Græcians, &c. No rigid maisters being more severe to punish their servants misdemeanour, then are the Angels of God, to execute that divine decree upon Kingdoms, families, and sons of men.

In the interim it wer a most blessed thing, if we could all walk by that golden rule, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.* For then, in place of that malice, hatred and insulting contempt that now fills us up, we should have our breasts sweetly replenish'd with the connatural vertues of commiseration and charity, which would move us to help and pittty one another, if not for tkeir sakes, yet for our own, to prevent the like judgment upon our selvs, for aught we know, ve y near and already lying at the door. Assuredly if we do it not, the worlds great Governour will in an hour we dream not of it, reverse the proverb upon our

selves, and write upon the wall against us, *Quod fecisti al-
teri, hoc idem fiet tibi.* Ther is not a nation upon earth
I am confident even from the first creation to this day,
but hath been made sooner or later, to tast of the cup she
forced others to drink out of her imperious hands : as even
it happens likewise in private families. For he that by cun-
ning stratagems undermines and ruins his neighbours house,
shall assuredly have a worm rise up, to eat up his. And parti-
cular persons live somtimes to see the same things executed
upon themselves, which they have aforetime contrived a-
gainst their innocent neighbours ; although proceeding ei-
ther closely, or as they thought very surely, they never drea-
med that their actions should be confuted by any judgment
proceeding from a hand invisible. The happy issue of this
last twenty years of our confusion even beyond our hope,
and to the joy of all good people in the land, may suffice to
justify this truth. But I spare to speak any more : and on-
ly say thus much ; That the judgments of God are just
though secret, and not so slow, as sure : although by the
shortness of our life, and want of serious consideration, not
one man of a million so far perceives it, as to be deterred
thereby from doing injustice to his neighbour. *Va qui pra-
davis, nonne & ipse pradaberis ?* saith the Prophet Ierem,
& *qui spernis, nonne & ipse sperneris ? Cum consummave-
ris depredationem depredaberis ; & cum fatigatus desieris
contemnere, contemneris.*

But this is an abyss that hath in it as much of danger,
as darknes. And therfor I will not muse too much upon it.

§. 7. Help.

THUS God both in *himself* and *works* and *providence*
is a triple great abyss, altogether unsearchable by
man ; as we may in a manner see by what has been hither-
to said, and much more to that purpose reserved to thoughts
and meditation. But the more to strengthen my assertion,

I will conclude this matter with the addition of authority, which coming now into my mind, I cannot totally omit. To the unsearchableness of the first abyss, which is God in himself, that great Prophet attests, who proclaims him to be a *hidden God*, a God that hides and conceals himself, *God Saviour of Israel*: and no less that grave Apostle, who professes of this great God, that he *Inhabits light unaccessible*. Though it be light, yet whiles it is inaccessible light, we are never the near to see it. To the unsoardableness of the second he subscribes, that was esteemed the wisest of men; to the other, one of the holiest. The wise man speaks thus. *Vidi afflictionem quam dedit Deus filiis hominum, &c.* "I saw an affliction which God hath laid up-
 "on the sons of men, that they should be racked in it: he
 "made all things good in their time, and gave up the
 "world to the disputation of men, that man might not find
 "out the work which God hath wrought from the begin-
 "ning even to the end: Thus speaks wise *Salomon*. Men
 talk and dispute of Gods works; but what is the event? to
 find out something surely, tho it be but little. Nay, nay, if
 we may beleev the Wise man, to find out nothing, even
 just nothing, from the beginning to the end. And who
 would not wrangle and disturb the whole univers, about
 such disputes as these, where opponent and respondent
 conclude nothing. And that the world might not think
 this speech of his to be hasty or less considered, he repeats
 it again afterwards, *Intellexi*, saith he, *quod omnium ope-*
rum Dei nullam possit homo invenire rationem eorum que
sunt sub sole, & quanto plus laboraverit ad quarendum,
tanto minus inveniat, etiamsi dixerit Sapiens se nosse, non
poterit reperire. The holy man of the third abyss, which
 is Gods providence and ordination of things, speaks thus;
O altitudo divitiarum, &c. "O the height and depth of
 "the riches of the sapience and science of God, how in-
 "comprehensible are his judgments and his wayes unsearch-
 "able! who hath known the sence of our Lord, or who
 "hath

“hath been his counsellour, or who first gave unto him,
 “and retribution shall be made. For out of him, and by
 “him, and in him be all things ; to him be glory unto end-
 “les ages. Amen.

And all that I have hitherto said, about our ignorance both of nature and providence, is but an-explication of our *B.* Saviours antecedent in his argument to *Nicodemus*. And to close up my whole discours I finish all with his Syllogisme. If you conceiv not, saith he, terrestrial things, when they are spoken, or propounded to you, how can you think of your selves to comprehend celestial. And so say I.

Nor are we much helped either by *Plato* or *Aristotle* himself, and many hundreds of his disciples and ourmasters, who have filled the world with their philosophical discourses, in this our speculation. After a thousand questions and disputes wittily raised, nimble handled, proluxly discussed, resolutely determined, and strongly guarded against all opposition of argument ; after our whole courses of logick, physick, and metaphysick well penetrated and understood, our heads indeed we find a little stuff with strange and uncouth words, which is the outward rind and bark of knowledg : but real science where is it ? What do we yet truly and certainly know of the many things God hath made or don amongst us ? Even so little, and in so small a manner that without offence we may call it nothing. And so must every one acknowledg, except he will pretend himself to be wiser than *Salomon*. And the business of religion, must needs concern either God in his own nature and properties, or his works, or providence ; in all which things we are of our selves equally ignorant, as well he that advances his way with passion, as he that defends himself ; as well the opponent as respondent. And the advantage, if any ther be, is precisely on his side, that excels in humility, and resigns himself to some greater authority, than any private mans can be.

Let us therfor be sure we are in the right, before we

what our indignation about it against our innocent neighbour. And since we can never find that out, of our selves, let us never strive against him with passion, but either discourses with a sweet charity and moderation, or els leav him altogether as he is in his own thoughts, which for aught I can know of my self, may be true and good. His reasons tho not to me, yet to an indifferent arbiter may be equally perswasive with mine own, and perhaps more efficacious, and on both sides but topical places at the best, if both opinions be personall and stand alone, separated from all authority extrinsecal, whence they should receive a further and more prevailing power. For no demonstration or uncontrollable science is to be expected in this world, by such poor worms as we, about either God, or his works, or constitutions. And whatsoever is said, be it asserted never so peremptoriily, may by the same or semblable grounds be as stoutly contradicted. What then can we do better, or more consonant to the darknes of our present condition, than to have peace with all men, to judg none, to suspect ourselves, and commend the innocent intention both of our selves and others, unto that almighty goodnes, who having placed us in this world of darknes will expect no more from us, than lies within our reach and power. And if any thing be such, it is a rational resignation and quietnes.

As several opinions have been advanced and maintained in the world, maugre all opposition of word or pen, without any the least tottering or fear of yielding on the defendants side: so am I assured, that any whatever opinion either old or new and hitherto unheard of, may be defended against the reason of all mankind joyned together against it, if but resolution and contempt of the opponent go along, as generally it does with him that is respondent and defender of it; whether he guide himself by reason, authority or other light. If he go by the first, no reason but his own shall be admitted for reason. If by the second,

his

his own authority shall be cast in, to counterballance any authority brought against him; and his own, be it what will, shall be of force, all others against him either not genuine, or impertinent, or corrupted. If by the third, what should any one go about to talk with him, that will be judged by nothing but a light which is only within himself; who as soon as he is opposed, pitties the ignorance and darknes of his antagonist. For such he peremptorily concludes all men to be, that gainsay his judgment, which only he deems light. And well then may any one defend any thing, when nothing can convincingly be proved against him; either through the inevidence of the matter, or self-conceit and obstinacy of the authour. In the interim, every opinion contemns and is contemned; and in that state will it remain, till long time and that mutability, which layes hold on all things makes it to expire, if ther be not some speaking oracle unto which both parties will submit.

I need not for proof of this invincible pertinacy appeal unto the ancient Philosophers, none of whom could ever be brought to yield unto others, though they were all great masters of reason. Our present controversies in England, which proceed for the most part upon authority, and yet by no authority will be laid down, may sufficiently justify my words. And all this happens by the unnatural coupling together of darknes and passion, little knowing ignorance and all presuming pride, self-conceit and folly, which though they be as dissonantly put together as the ox and ass in a plow team; yet are they, so unhappy is our condition, seldom or never asunder.

Indeed he that is truly learned in theological affairs, who hath read all histories greek and latin, that may concern Christianity from its first beginning to this day, perused the Councils thoroughly, well understood the ancient fathers, mastered the subtle schoolmen, and so penetrated all the books of Bible, that he is able to resolv logically every treatise and discours thereof into its final scope: such

a man may haply discern, where the truth lies in a dispute between two sects or men, grounded only upon tradition or authority, if it be in one, or perhaps in neither of them, although for default of learning or excess of passion, they may neither of them discern it. But yet notwithstanding, if he, even that knowing person shall let his mind walk on yet further, and call that very authority to account as in natural reason well he may; how it came hither; where it resided in every age since its first being; who first authorised it; and what sufficient ground he could have so to do; what marks it may exhibit, that it is indeed the off-spring of such a father, under whose name it goes; or that he erred not, whoever he was, in that particular, who either first wrote or afterwards transcribed it, and the transcribers may have been some thousands of indifferent affections and capacities; whether nothing in reason or other authority may gain-say it; whether the words in the original character by some art or other, wherof there be tricks good store, may not speak another meaning, or at least by some trope or scheme of rhetorick be otherways interpreted, &c. then I say even that knowing person shall find himself in a mist, and so thick a one too, as that except he rely upon the authority of some living oracle, whom in these and what ever such like things without further question or doubt he may believe, he shall never be able to get out of it. Especially if he dive yet further, into the secrets of providence concerning such things; and question first, as nature is apt to do, how divine goodness should permit the world to wander in darkness and in the error of their ways, so many hundred years without a truth so necessary, as it is reported, unto mans salvation; how a company of ignorant men, who are ordinarily transported with their own fancies as oraculous visions, should be chosen to be our masters in it: how these should be so particularly inspired, and never any since them, though of the same profession; nor yet they, till their master was departed, if ever they did

did presume or give out any such thing ; for in their writings we do not find they did : one indeed sayes of the old Prophets, that they were inspired, but speaks not any such thing either of himself or co-evangelists ; and although the maister promised after his departure to send them his Spirit, to teach them in his place all things they were to know ; yet does it not thence follow, that they wrote no more, nor otherwayes than they should. Besides many appearing contradictions and other human infirmities that seem ever and anon to occur unto a critick judgment, as well in their writings as other mens, might easily move a natural man, that will rather trust to his own reason, than submit to think that those illiterate men might as well fail in some things, as all holy fathers greek & latin, & Senatours of all sacred Councils since Christs time, professours of the same Christianity and pretenders to the same Spirit, have in some mens opinions erred and failed in many, namely all things wherein we find them to gain-say us. And indeed we do in effect deal little otherwise with the apostles writings, when we give a peremptory interpretation to such places as gain-say our opinions, quite contrary to the express words and the natural sence they be apt to make out unto us, according to which all antiquity understood them, adjoyning withal our own natural reasons, why the text cannot otherwayes be true, but only in some trope or figure, though we cannot ourselves tell what ; for example the places in gospel that plainly speak forth the real presence of Christs body in the Eucharist ; which is no other but to say plainly thus much : " If that writer, let him be Evangelist or what he will, really meant as he spake in his story, he is not to be beleaved, against the plain experience both of our eyes touch and tast, and so many improbabilities if not impossibilities of reason ; and Christ himself either spake not in that manner the Evangelist uses, or if he did, he could not intend to affirm that, which neither he, nor God himself can make good. Not indeed

indeed will we grant any thing to Christ, but what we can do our selves, or understand at least how it may be don.

If ther wer upon earth any speaking oracle, unto whom all parties would submit in these affairs, disputes would soon end. If such a one be excluded or denied, the very rising of them is as ominous as the blazing of a *Comet* or coming of a *Whale* into a river, and portends great disturbance and desolation. The world had that fearful apprehension, when they first heard that *Luther* would shine with his own light, and defy the stars of heaven. But they were more then assured of much approaching mischief, when they once understood that *Calvin* had left the Roman Sea, to show himself, and domineer and sport, in the fresh waters of *Geneva*.

§. 8. Reason.

WHo shall then set up himself, for a guide to his neighbour in affairs of religion, which must needs carry an obscurity far above all that is in nature. And how and which way will he do it; that a good disinterested judgment may approve of his pretensions. There can no other way, whereby any should now afresh, after Christian religion has been above sixteen hundred years profest in the world, set up himself a new extraordinary directour, be thought of or imagined; but either som high inconfutable reason, internal special light, or purer interpretation of formerly received Scripture? And what man is ther upon earth, can now wisely begin to pretend any of these things, to the disparagement of the rest of the Christian world.

Reason carries the fairest show, and seems most civil and manly. And if it lean upon principles of faith formerly received, it may do much good for the strengthening or securing of religion in weak believers. But then it makes not faith but supposes it, and must know what, and if it be right reason cannot but know, that all argumentati-

ons are answerable ; which if they rely upon obscure suppositions, may according to the height of the maisters conceit, pretend much, but can prove nothing irrefragably. Did religion com at first by reason ? or must it only begin now ? A good beleever cannot but think, that Christ the great maister, had a reason for what he taught : but he must beleev first, before he can think so. And altho he had a reason himself, yet since he taught us none, we can have from him no other reason but his authority : and this may be beleevd, but not evidently proved. For his miracles recorded and not seen, ar as pure an object of faith, as his authority and person. Nay, if I had seen them, I could not have told my self, unto whom the intricacies of whole nature are so much unknown, whether nature and art might compas them or no : and so might I conclude him to be some ingenious person or great naturallist, but not a god.

Nor is it likely, that Christ ever meant, that reason should frame our religion ; both becaus he constituted such men to plant faith, as were not any maisters of arts : and if reason had been the busines, it had been fitter to send them about the world to learn, than to teach ; as also becaus himself, though he did oftentimes with subtil and most rational argumentations confute the Pharisees errours, yet did he never by any reason, that I can remember, establish his own doctrin, nor answer to any *Quomodo* tho he was often put to it ; but still when the Jews demanded, *How* can this or that be ; *How* can man forgiv sins, *How* can this man give us his flesh to eat, he repeated again his own assertion and doctrin, and might perhaps confirm it by miracle, but he proved it not by reason. And it is very fitting, if he were such a person as we beleev him to be, that he should be taken upon his word, and not stand to give his vassals a reason of his will. And lastly, if we follow our own reason, we submit not to his.

If Christ our Lord had been no more than an ordinary

wise legislatur, yet could he not rationally intend at once, both the unity of his Church upon earth; and the guidance of all men in it, onely by reason of their own. For my reason is not his, and may well prove contrary as well to it, as that of my neighbours. Whence will result not only, not one religion, but also no religion; whiles one neighbours reason differs from another, and perhaps both from Gods. Wherefor wise and holy Church, hath in all ages both forbid her children, to dispute their principles of religion in the sence they had received them; and also refused to be tried before any Senate, by the philosophy of any pure man, to stand or fall by his axioms. This is apparent, not only by ancient writings of Christian doctours; but by a fact of Emperour *Julian*, who falling from Christian religion, amongst other oppressions, he deprived Christians of their schools of literature thorowout the Roman Empire, telling them by way of jeer, that Christians need not any learning, unto whom this one word *Credo* is sufficient. And indeed it is sufficient for faith; and must needs be both the sufficient and only means of conserving a Church in uniformity. For religion must be something, which may be common to all persons that profess it, and equally proportioned to all capacities and conditions: and such a thing is to *Believe*, but not to *Ratiocinate*. All men both rich and poor, wise and unlearned, prince and peasant, may equally believe one and the same thing, and so hold it uniformly from time to time. But if that very thing were to be set up unto each one by his own proper reason, the several kinds of Beings in sensitiv or vegetative nature, even from the oak to the mustard seed, would not more differ, than that one judgment in several men. Have ther not been fifty or threescore several interpretations of these few words, *Hoc est corpus meum*; and almost a hundred opinions amongst the masters of reason about their *summum bonum*. We may see by our own theological schools, both what large variety of judgments ther will be in things

left to our own reason, and how great our obstinacy therein.

And if any say, that it is enough for some great master in these times by the strength of his reason to raise a religion, that is onely to be accepted; and others of weaker abilities may either take all from him, or onely follow and hold, what themselves are able by their own reason to reach: This cannot satisfie at all; for first, if I must take a religion upon the credit of some great masters reason, which my self cannot judge or comprehend, I had as good take it from the first master and beleev as I do, as suffer another in these dayes to make himself lord over me, and lead me another way of his own. And he indeed that does so, does not only by this slight put himself into the place of Him, who conveighes faith, but of *Christ* himself who made it. For the sense is the life and spirit of all words; and *Christ* then should but only administer matter, for this new rising Sun to quicken. On the other side, if I be not to follow anothers reason but my own, what variety would there be in the world about the same thing, not only betwixt man and man, but betwixt one man to day, and the self-same man to morrow. For the opinions, which be totally from our selves, we change continually, upon the variety either of our own intrinsick dispositions, or casual alterations from without; and in each seven years revolution, we find a whole volume of new thoughts and judgments within us, contrary to former ones we had of the same things, diet, clothing, pastimes, company, nature, providence, books. And yet all must ever be true: for generally in all the ages of our life, we are equally obstinate in that we set upon. So that, whiles reason is licensed to create a religion, not onely all the religions which any particular man shall run through, in his life time, but those also, what ever they be, which whole kingdoms and nations shall at any time accept of, in a word all the religions of the whole earth, must needs be justified. And he can mean no less, who would have that to be religion, and only that, which reason makes forth.

forth. Both heretick and Catholick, both Jew and Christian, Pagan and Mahometan do all and every one stiffly defend, that his religion is rational, that his best reason is with it and for it, and that no right reason can be against it.

If reason that should follow, once go before and lead religion; it will sodainly thrust Christ out of his chair, and separate at once all his Church from him. For if I hold nothing but what reason dictates, then is not Christ my master; nor will ther be any Church, that may any more belong to Christ, than to *Democritus*, *Aristotle*, or at least dame *Nature*. If any reply, that we must take the words from Christ and his gospel, but the proper sence, which words of themselves cannot carry with them, our own reason must make out. This indeed is true thus far, that as we do understand languages and human words; so are we accordingly to conceiv of their meaning, as we know those words were either at first imposed, or by long use have got the power to make out. And if those words speak faith, the same Church gives both words and sence together, expounding them by her very practis, which we daily convers withall. But if any will further, by his pretens of reason, give power to any or all men, to make out at his pleasur a particular sence of his own, differing from the ancient meaning conveighed together with those words, this must needs justifie *Calvins* private interpretation, from which this new doctrin differs but in sound, whiles that is here called reason which he calls spirit; and both do equally exclude the guidance of any Church besides the Temple of their own heads: in both wayes every one is in deed and reality chief byshop to himself; and equally will religion be as various and mutable as our thoughts, and answerable to the natur either of our reason or spirit; here wide, there narrow, there none at all. Nay, what is ther in christianity that one reason or other, as well as peculiarity of spirit, may not deprave and frustrate. The gospel may be

made to speak Mahometism with one reason, and the Alcoran to Eyangelise by another. Ther is a great maister of reason now in the world, out of whose principles all vice & capitall sins may be justified; as ther was another not long ago, whose reason disabled good works, as much as this enables ill ones. So that the fear and danger of ill deeds on the one side; and the merit and benefit of good ones on the other, being now by such doughty reasons evacuated, we are likely to have a jolly merry world. And these be Christians too, not only good ones, but the best and purest, all true heart of oak. The enemies of good works speak scripture very glibly; the patrons of ill ones, nothing but pure reason. And both do equally defy the whole world, shall dare to gainsay them;

It were not amiss to know of those, who will have nothing to be believed, but what reason can demonstrate; first, by what philosophy this reason must be deduced; must it be Aristotle or Plato's, Democritus or Pythagoras, or Fladd's Rosh-Crucian Philosophy, or some other we yet never heard of. The good apostles caution in his letter to the Colossians, meets I think with them all indifferently. *Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam & inanis fallaciam secundum traditionem hominum, secundum elementa mundi, & non secundum Christum.* Where philosophy is set forth as a vanity and cheat, apt to seduce, and lead us from our Christianity; if namely it be Queen regent, as our Rationalists would have it to be, and not subservient unto Faith. And men are not perswaded to it, but cautioned and dehorred from it, as opposite and destructive of our Christian religion. I ask secondly, whether all the reasons and reasonings of Christians, are to submit unto some one capital reason; or no. If they are; then reason-submission and faith-submission will amount to the same thing, the Judge only changed; all Christians being now to acknowledge a new Pope of reason, instead of their old Pastour of faith. If they are not to submit to One, we
(shall

shall fall sodainly from our unity into infinity of divisions. For faith is one; but reasons like ages and complexions are some strong, some weak, some staid, some wild, some regular, some corrupted; and all even the best obscure and dark. Indeed all human reason is so intermixt with fanfy, almost in every thing, that one can hardly say which is which. Nor can any Patron of Reason set forth himself a volum of Rationall religion; but another, who hath not aforehand captivated his understanding to his naturall Light, may haply look upon it as the issue of a dreaming imagination, the judgments and fantasies of men differing as much as their complexions. The old Philosophers wer all great maisters of reason, such at least they profest themselves, as much as any now can do; and yet they ran into hundreds of divisions, and could never be reconciled: by which means ancient Christianity overtopt them, and exposed them all to derision, both by the goodnes, and also the constant uniformity of it self; whereby those humble resigned Professours, remained in all ages and places, notwithstanding the great variety of ages, inclinations, & capacities, found as well amongst them as other men, one and the same body of Christians, hoping, beleevng, practising the same things; whiles all the maisters of reason wandred several waies into endles divisions, toiling and tiring their brains in their mutual opposition, till they and all their reason vanished into nothing.

If a man may guess at hidden causes, I should think that the various factions of human reason in the disquisition of their *summum bonum* or final end, together with the means conducing therunto, may be one cause might move divine goodness, pitying our miserable instability, to send us a sacred Teacher, unto whose truth all human intellects should for their lasting quiet constantly submit; at such a time, as man himself, now wearied in his long and fruitles ratiocinations, might becom more willing to resign. So that he that would set up again, this our dark and instable reason

in place of faith-submission, does, as much as in him lies, disable divine wisdom, oppose his ordination, and condemn his goodnes unto mankind; endeavouring to rais again that mist of philosophical confusion, which the sun of brightness dissipated with his presence, and the only authority of his revealed will. We must surely take our religion as the Apostles did theirs; not for any other reason given, but only the authority of the maister.

If we are once resolved to beleev Jesus Christ no further than we can find a philosophical reason for it, as the pagans pleaded long ago, it is to be feared, we shall reject both him and his whole gospel; even as they also did. Therefore, he that will be my disciple, saith the worlds Messiah, must not maintain, but *deny* himself.

All reformations of religion are nothing els, but an interposing of our own judgments in the points of faith delivered, to discern which is probable and which unlikely, which to be received and which rejected, and so to separate the right from the wrong; be it don by light, spirit, reason, or other plausible pretens. And if ther be any such thing as religion at all, this interposing of our judgment in her affairs, must needs be a high inconsequence. For what we neither did nor could find out, that we can never be able either to refine or mend, or so much as to say assuredly which part of it is true, and which not. Indeed if it be true, then is it a divine influence of sacred doctrine, not to be examined but revered; if it should be but touched irreverently, it disappears. On the other side, if it be not delivered but invented, it is indeed no religion at all, but like unto all other philosophy, *Inanis fallacia secundum traditionem hominum*. If reason can mend any one part of it; then justly it may, as in time assuredly it will, reject all the rest.

S. Paul had no doubt a very sublime intellect; and yet he declares that his own and every understanding in the world is to be captivated unto the obedience of Christ; and that

that all Christians walk by faith, and not by *species* or evidence; which is a quite contrary way to this, that would have no religion, but what comes from reason. According to this, all are to walk by sight and not by faith; but in *St. Paul's* judgment all Christians are to walk by faith and not by sight: this would have faith captivated to the obedience of the understanding; *St. Paul* would have the understanding captivated to the obedience of faith. And good reason it should be so. For ar not most part of the things our Lord revealed contingent, and in a manner all of them hid from our eyes? And if ther can be made no demonstration in natur, of the things we do see and touch, and convers withal, although they be naturally connext, as is sufficiently insinuated, how can things invifible and contingent be reached and confined and concluded by reason? And this indeed is the very ratiocination of *Jesus* Christ to *Nicodemus*, whose word I should beleeve, although I did not my self know either the antecedent to be true, or the inference certain and necessary. In my mind, it is a poor imagination to think, that doctrinal words, delivered, beleeved, and practised in the world, for almost two thousand years, should now at length be to receive their true sence from a new doctour in our times, which hitherto the whole Christian world wanted, and through the universal ignorance of mankind could not, till now, find out. And to adde for further countenance of the way, that the Church hath three times, 'tis pittie she is not allowed her *quatuor tempora*, in the first she walked by *credulity*, in the second by *probability*, and in the third, which begins in these dayes of ours, by scientificall *demonstration*, is as weak a fanfisy as the other. For one and the same Church, must have the same motives, and grounds, and practise, and articles of religion, which must needs be all of them excessively divers, if that were true. The same conclusions and articles can never issue from a dark credulity, a purblind probability, and a staring demonstration.

I know that in the second and all ages of the Church, preachers and doctours explicated and declared their faith by congruous reasons & similitudes, but neither then nor in any time of Christianity, did they frame their faith either by reason or probability, nor yet allowed it either to stand or fall by those means. *S. Austin, Eusebius* and *S. Bernard* lived in that which is by our new *Rationalists* called the age of probability; and yet the first in his book *de Utilitate credendi* confutes the *Manichæes*, for saying that faith is not to be admitted, till a reason of every thing be given; *Eusebius* in the fifth book of his history condemns the *Arihemonites* for admitting faith within the limits of human wit; *St. Bernard* in his Epistles judges *Abailard* for the same fault. And they were all three backt with that great Apostle who speaks confidently, that *Fides est rerum non apparentium*, Heb. 11. And again by another, if not the same, as great as he, who said, *we preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a scandal, to the Gentiles a folly; for the Jews ask a sign, and the Gentiles require wisdom*, 1 Cor. 1. So that in *S. Pauls* divinity, as 'tis Judaism not to beleeve without a sign; so likewise to suspend our faith upon philosophical reason, is pure paganism. I will not burden my paper with the testimonies of those ancient heroes, who professedly affirm that they all rely wholly upon obscure faith, and not upon any reason either topical or demonstrative for their religion. *St. Gregory* and *Theodoret* shall serve for all; *Fides non habet meritum*, saith the first in his homilies upon the Gospel, *ubi humana ratio præbet experimentum*, speaking of human reason that should precede faith: *Theodoret* in his *græcænicis affectibus* speaks thus, *Cur nostrum credulitatis & fidei titulum accusatis? quodque nostris sententiis tradendis nullam demonstrationem præcedamus; solam vero illis fidem acque credulitatem insinuare conemur quos rebus divinis imbuendos suscepimus? Annon ratione plenum est quid Deo absque demonstratione credamus*. Which made *S. Gregory*

gory Nazianzen tell Emperour *Julian*, when he objected to Christians their rusticity and ignorance, that the one word *Credere*, was the same to Christians, that *Ipse dixit* to the Pythagorians.

But this way of setting up and holding that only to be religion, which right reason will make forth and justify, is a rare and untrodden path; and which ordinary spirits dare not venture on; and 'tis held forth only by some wits here in *England*. I suppose to dash out of countenance that grosser way of maintaining all by Scripture texts. And it will serv well enough for exercise and discours, when good wits meet together; as *Cicero* shewed his eloquence in defending Paradoxes. But it must needs be dangerous, if it be once believed, and reduced to practise. Nor is it easie to say, whether solitary reason, or a text privately interpreted, would caus more and greater inconveniencies. This makes the skirts of the Church too narrow; that enlarges them too wide; even so wide, that all Jewes, Turks and Pagans would by this reckoning be in the truth; which in effect is onely to say, there is no religion at all; *Quod ubique est, nusquam est*. And so much is easily collected by the general axiom joined with our own particular experience to the contrary. For if nothing is to be beleaved, but what can be demonstratively proved; and we find by experience, that nothing can be demonstratively proved either about Gods will, his providence or nature, it will thence necessarily follow, that nothing at all is to be beleaved. And he that holding the axiom endeavours withall himself, to demonstrate the whole body of religion, creates the like conclusion in mens minds without further words, when they find he has demonstrated nothing.

The power of reason then will not suffice to set up a new guide. And he that pretends this for his own preheminance before others, most either actually in words, or virtually in effect, disable the whole reason of mankind besides his own; which to sober men will not exalt his caus; but rather

ther render him, and all his reason contemptible. In affairs of religion it is not any conceited learning must carry it, but only a downright humility and resignation, equally in all Christians, learned or unlearned, Prince or peasant, prelate or people that profess it.

Som will ask, how our faith then can be rational, or how we can give a reason for our faith, if indeed we have none for it. I answer, that faith has his reason, as science hath his, and both be good reasons, but very much differing. The reason of science is drawn from the very intrinsick nature of the truths to be known; but faith draws his reason from the authority of him who delivered it. This serves one and the same for the stability of all articles, be they never so many and divers, as the Trinity, for example, and sacraments, creation and the life to come; whereas every several conclusion in science must have his own proper reason. Thus faith and science differ. And one of these must not have, nor can it admit of the reason that is peculiar to the other. For then it should not be it self. If science should have an extrinsecal reason from authority, it would then not be *species*, but *fides*, not evidence but faith; and if faith should have an intrinsecal one, it would not be faith but evidence. He gives the best reason in the world for his faith, that resolves it into an authority which is the best can be had. And he that resolves it into his own reason, as he cannot but run himself into danger, considering the wondrous frailty and darknes of mans judgment in all things; so likewise considering that the very essence and quiddity of faith, requires to rely ultimately upon the credit of a revealer, instead of defending faith he destroyes it. To believe no more then we see is indeed to believe nothing.

Let wise *Salomon* and *Christ* our Lord make up the concluding argument. "*Man*, saith *Salomon*, can find out nothing of the works which God hath wrought from the beginning to the end, nor of all the works of God almighty can he find out any reason, of the things that

"are

are done under the sun, and the more he labours to seek, the less he finds; although the wise man, or philosopher, should say he knows them, he cannot do it. Thus speaks *Salomon*, arming us aforehand against the temptations of any, who might endeavour to mislead us by a pretens of demonstration, into erroneous wayes to our own prejudice. Then comes *Christ* our Lord in his discours with *Nicodemus*, wherein he teaches him the regenerating power of Baptisme, which *Nicodemus* could not understand, and makes up the argument, to this effect: "If you cannot comprehend even the things you see and feel and convers with here on earth, this is *Salomons antecedent*, as the wind for example, which you do not know either whence it comes or whither it goes, much less must you expect to comprehend the invisible and celestial secrets of religion; this is *Christs consequence*: As if he had said, these things are sublime and forreign and brought to you, from another superiour place you know not, and therfor to be submitted unto by faith, and not to be measured with your poor reason, which does not so much as know the things that be at home. And it is an argument *à majore ad minus*, which ever holds good in the negative.

And as for the two other pretences of interiour light and pure sence of Gods word, which be held forth more generally for the victory and preheminence in the contest, something I have said already, and something more shall speak in the following paragraff.

CHAP. III.

No religion, or sect, or way hath any advantage over another, nor all of them over Popery.

§. 9. *Light and spirit.*

BY reason of this great obscurity of things, wherby we are led into so many petty differences where otherwise

wise there would be none, we are so with-held from diving into weightier affairs, that not one of a thousand does much as think of them: so that greater things we take hand over head, and boggle at lesser, which in reason and needs follow upon the admittance of the former. The cause of all this is, the narrow restraint of our judgments and considerations, which seldom look forth out of our own doors. And hence it is, that if any one by casualty of birth, society, books, or personal fancy, adjoin himself once to any one opinion here in *England*, he sodainly entertain such a prejudice against all the rest, that ther is left in him no further place for counsel. For all other wayes beside his own are condemned, as soon as his own is accepted: and he does no sooner think himself sure, but all others must at the same time be lost. And yet he hath but his own judgment for it: neither, supported only with the appearances of I know not what spirit, or internal light, which he and his enjoy, and all others want. And if a man press him once to further difficulties, than himself hath thought on, though without the reflection upon them he could never be able to settle any firm judgment about these things in particular, one shall soon find that he heeds not any of those things, without which the other could not be judiciously concluded; nor is able even by the help of that light or spirit of his, to satisfie therein either himself or other man; which argues plainly, that the spirit and light he pretends, is nothing but his own private resolution not sufficiently amplified, and yet irrationally fixed against all authority and counsel.

The Christians in ancient times especially for the first four hundred years after Christ, had many serious & grave disputes with the Jew and Pagan; which being rational and weighty, and about the foundations of Christianity, wheron the other articles were built, did puzle even the wisest of their clergy to answer. But after all the rationation ended, whether it sufficed or no, they still concluded

with

with this one word *Credo*, which the love of Christ had fast-
ned upon them; as Emperour *Julian* commonly surnamed
Apostate testifies of them. And this, although in philoso-
phy and logick it had been a weak answer, yet in religion
it was the best and onely one to be made. So that all the
burden fell at length upon the authority of *Iesus Christ*, who
being both a man, and one too that was crucified as a ma-
lfactor, undertook to send forth a religion into the world
under the title of a divine Prophet, and the onely Son of
God almighty maker of heaven and earth, which could not
but make a disturbance both among the Jews and Gentiles,
where it should be preached. And the great mystery be-
gins here, and here it must end; for this authority being once
admitted from the Church that brings it, all other catho-
lick truths will follow by a kind of consequence from the
same hands. And therfor this authority of his, which can
never be demonstratively proved unto us that live now, but
only by vertue of the Church that derives it us. Christ
must maintain himself by signs and wonders, and such sig-
nal proofs of his divine providence over his Church from
time to time, that his deity may somewhat appear in his
Churches progres and defence. And all other doctrines
must be made good by it, and the Church that first preach-
ed to us.

In any age, the first or sixth for example, of the Christian
Church, a Jew might say thus to the Christians then li-
ving: "Your Lord and maister was born a Jew, and un-
der the jurisdiction of the high Priests: these he oppo-
sed and caught a religion contrary to *Moses*, otherwise
how coms there to be a faction: but how could he justly
do it? No human power is of force against Gods, who
spake, as you also grant, by *Moses* and the Prophets; and
divine power it could not be, for God is not contrary to
himself. And although your Lord might say, as indeed
he did, that *Moses* spake of him as of a Prophet to com-
greater than himself, yet who shall judg that such a thing
was

"was meant of his person? For since that Prophet is neither
 "specified by his name or characteristical properties, suffi-
 "ciently who could say it was he more than any other
 "com. And if ther wer a greater to com than Moses were
 "surely born a jew he would being com into the world
 "rather exalt that law to more ample glory, than diminish
 "it. And if you will further contest, that such a Prophet
 "was to abrogate the first law, and bring in a new one
 "who shall judg in this case? the whole Church of the He-
 "brews, who never dreamed of any such thing, or con-
 "member thereof who was born a subject to their judg-
 "ments. This is the great oecumenical difficulty, can
 he that in any age of Christianity could either answer
 or find any bulwark to set against it, so that it should do
 no harm, would easily either solve or prevent all other dif-
 ficulties should arise, by the same authority by which it is
 cleared.

For if *Christ* wer not only a lawful Teacher, but even
 one that was greater than *Moses*, as Christians believe him
 to be; and both the one and the other pretended this great
 work of establishing a Church, surely *Christ* must do it in
 as great an excellency as *Moses*, and with some advantage.
 The doctrine and discipline must be as sublime, and stand
 as permanently as his. And *Christ*, who wrote no law,
 must so provide notwithstanding, that his Church might
 otherwise have none from him, and keep it as uniformly as
 the Hebrew Church did theirs. Wherefor as *Moses* after
 he had done all things which belonged to himself so he
 constituted *Aaron* and his Successours to be guides, rulers,
 overseers, and judges of all Controversies that might arise
 in the tribes, about any points of their religion he had writ-
 ten them. So must *St. Peter* and his Successours be enabled
 by some equal, if not more special means, sith they also wer
 constituted by *Christ* to govern his flock, to captivate all
 men to the obedience of *Christ*s will. Otherwise his Church
 could not go on so uniformly in all ages, which uniformity

is the glory, and indeed the very life and conservation of a Church, as that of the Hebrews did. Nor may any body prudently imagin that the Spirit of *Jesur* in his Church, and all the members thereof, cooperates in every one immediately unto truth, as it does to grace. For then why should he constitute doctours and pastours, and bishops over us, as the good Apostle learnedly asserts in his Epistle to the Ephesians: *Ipse dedit quosdam quidem apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, alios vero Evangelistas, alios autem pastores & doctores, ad consummationem sanctorum, in opus ministerii, in adificationem corporis Christi, donec occurrant omnes in unitatem fidei & agnitionis filii dei, in vitam perfectam, in mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi: ut jam non simus parvuli fluctuantes, & circumferamur omni vento doctrina, in nequitia hominum, in astutia ad circumventionem erroris.* These be most excellent pathetic words; where we have first the doctrine, that *Pastours* are set over us in the Church to guide us: then the end of that constitution; which he declares both positively and negatively. The positive end is a perfect unity of faith, which by that means must vegetate and fructify and grow up, even as Christs natural body under one spirit and head, united and compacted together, and that without ceas, even so long as that mystick body lasteth upon earth, *in mensuram ætatis plenitudinis Christi*, till it receiv its final consummation. The negativ, is to prevent schismes and heresies, which might otherwise render the Church in her members both contemptuous and liable to continual ruin, whiles every particular person left to himself would be carried up and down like children with puffs of novelty blowing several wayes, by the cunning subtilty of men, pretending new light, spirits, reasons, and such like stratagems, in *astutia* in their knavery and pride of heart to bring people into a circumvention of errour: all which inconveniencies are avoided by following the guidance of the Church and Pastours therein appointed over us. A general

neral spirit of truth in those that are set over the flock keep them together and safe; whereas particular lights in the sheep that are to be ruled, would divide them from their pastour and from one another; and division infers destruction.

Nor could that great Jewish argument be any way ward- ed or put by, after it had run forth into various altercati- ons about the sence and meaning of scripture authorities, but by having recours to the infallible guidance of the Chri- stian Church which can be no other; but what Christ gives her. And his own aintority and truth revealed by this Church, is the unshak foundation, that supports the whole fabrick. Nor can any thing be further assigned to support it, but God with whom it is beleevd to be united. For as all material buildings and their connexion are beheld with the eye, but their foundation is not seen, but is beleevd, by the influence it hath in supporting the fabrick, which in self is ultimately sustained by the center: So may we dis- cern some consequences of the points of religion, upon a supposal of a great fundamental truth upon which they all depend; as this is, that *Christ is a true and divine teacher*. But this cannot be seen or maintained otherwise, than by a pure belief, yielded unto that Church that first taught him; and His truth sustains all his doctrin, and the for- mal fabrick of the Church built upon him; and it can be it self grounded upon nothing but God, the center of all subsistence and verity. This connexion of us to the apostles, of the apostles to Christ, and Christ to God, St. Paul in- sinuates, when he saith to the Christians of Corinth; *Omnia vestra sum, sive Paulus, sive Apollo, sive Kephas, vos autem Christi, Christus autem Dei.*

The Christians might indeed reply to the Jew and say; that Christ our Lord was a holy and sacred person, divine, innocent, and unblamable in his whole life and conversa- tion: That his miracles were as authentical and great as those of *Moses*, yea greater than his, and consequently gave

gave ampler testimony of his unparallel'd worth : that he came from heaven by the mission of his eternal father and his own great benignity, to plant upon earth an universal catholick Church amongst all nations, which in the fulnes of time God was pleased to do, whereas Moses had confined his Church by Gods command, till that hour of general salvation unto the one family of Abraham : And that our Lord had received authority from God so to do, which not only his own evangelists, but even Moses and the prophets sufficiently attest, who all do speak forth the birth and life, passion and resurrection of this our great *Messias*, and the glory of his Church amongst the gentiles, accordingly as himself promised, and it hath now appeared to be : And that nothing but rancour and prejudice and the scandal of his humility, and the Jews mistake of the *Messias* his first and second coming, did incense them against their own lord when he appeared amongst them; who also looked even then for a *Messias* sodainly to com, whom they were to obey and follow? and cannot probably, being then the only select peop'e of God ascribe their immens detolations, exiles from their own homes and miseries these sixteen hundred years to other thing then the guilt they have contracted upon themselves, by shedding the blood of that sacred person : Nor are they to be excused, such all ancient Rabbies before Christs coming, did openly profess throughout all the Hebrew Church, that they understood not the end and meaning of Moses law, nor ver should, till the great *Messias* came to teach them ; which was so beaten into their minds, that all the Hebrews believed it, as appears by the saying of the woman of Samaria, *When the Messias comes he will teach us all things*: although through the hatred they bore to *Iesus* Christ, they began after his coming to sing another song.

This I say and such like words might those Christians reply; and thence conclude against the Jew, first, that *Iesus* was not under the jurisdiction of the high Priests,

in the promulgation of this religion ; but they rather under his : Likewis, that his authority was divine , and not contrary , but fully answering to the will and meaning both of *Moses* and his legislation : Also , that the character of the *Messias* whom the *Jewes* expected, did fully and only agree to our Lord and Master : Moreover , that our Redeemer did exalt the Law of *Moses* unto that glory it was intended for, being meant and appointed both by God and *Moses* to pass out of the shadow into the substance, and from the corner of one nation into all the ends of the earth. And, that Christ Jesus was not a member , but the head and Prince of all the *Hebrew Church* , who should draw forth the rod of his power out of *Sion*, that so repentance and remission of sins might be preached in his name, unto all nations, beginning at *Jerusalem*, even to the ends of the earth , &c. This they might speak , and prove by som sacred text or other all that they had said. But whatever they could alledg, the Jewish Rabbies would give another interpretation to it ; or if it wer their own gospel flatly deny it. And so having no other further authority to rely upon, but the stability of that Church , that stands upon this foundation of Christs divinity and truth, there they must rest. For ther can be no hope either of satisfying a querent , or convincing an opponent in any point of Christianity , unless he will humbly submit to the splendour of Christs authority in his own person , and the Church descended from him ; which I take to be the reason, why so ne Jews in Rome , when *S. Paul* laboured so much to perswade Christ out of *Moses* and the prophets, beleeved in him ; and som did not.

So then , the great resolv of all doubts must be immediately upon the authority of the present Church, which derived from the Church foregoing , must by several concatenations bring us at length to the authority of Christ, which is the root and firmitude and life of all. And if this be once acknowledged and firm , and firm it cannot otherwaies be
than

than by captivating our wills and understanding to his love and obedience, under that notion the Church hath revealed him, it must equally support all future generations of Christians, be they never so many, in any temptation or difficulty that should afterwards happen, and the whole Church & all her doctrine built upon it. Nor can any at any time pretend rightfully and justly other motive of his belief, than what the apostles had for theirs; the first age from the apostles; the second age from the first, &c. and still the foregoing Church does but derive the faith and practice received unto its successor; and both must equally stand upon the same foundation of one and the same authority, which all generations take by the like resignation and faith-submission unto the worlds end. So that he that departs in any age from the ways of the foregoing Church, upon what pretence soever it be done, of knowledge, interior light, reason, spirit or other discovery, he leaves the foundation on which his faith was built, and virtually forsakes Christ, and would have had the same argument against him, if he had lived in his time. For if the Church, the visible Church, prove not to be even in that particular age a just keeper and deliverer of faith received, then was the Church deceived, not so much in that age as in the first, when she took her faith from him that did manifestly so comport himself, as if he would be taken for a God; and promised his Church by the general spirit he would send her, to teach her all truth, and strengthen her therein against all opposition, even to the consummation of the world: which none but God, or one exceeding near unto him, could make good. And if this were not performed; the imposture was in the first beginning. The building must needs stand firm, that rests upon a Deity, which hath influence upon the whole fabrick to keep it up; and if it be not so kept up and conserved, the Church doth but vainly flatter her self, when she boasts of the divinity of her support. If she fail in her doctrine and faith, Christ is not God:

Whensoever therefor we read either in the Acts of the Apostles, or other ancient story, of the conversion of a Kingdom or people unto the right religion of Christianity, we still find it was don, not by any private illumination of any one, who living before in darknes with the rest, was now secretly called to teach others; but by a resignation unto a former doctrin, brought from Christ by his missionaries and preachers; by submission to a truth delivered to them from without, not springing up within them. Faith comes by hearing; & every man upon earth, that hath ever been approved Christian, received it that way; and was made thereby not a maister, but disciple to the Church. Whereas on the other side, this Spirit and Light and such like discoveries, we so frequently talk of, makes us not schollers but maisters *ipso facto*, and urges not to submit to foregoers, but to condemn them, not to resign our own, but to captivate others understandings, not to go to the Church, but to go out of it; and that upon the single motive of a new illumination, which none had before us, and we from no body.

I know well enough, that a man cannot be converted and become a good Christian, without the assistance of Gods grace exciting and co-operating with us to our good, when the truth is taught and revealed to us. But this I suppose is not the Light men talk of. For this is rather in the affection and will, than in the understanding. And it bids us hearken to another, not to our selves; to join with a Church already planted, not to begin a new one; It says not to us, make a vineyard of your own, but go into mine. And the intellectual Light men speak of, if we have any, we receive afterwards, as a reward of our humility, in that Church, where we did not kindle it but found it already burning, to guide our feet by it in the wayes of peace. *Credo & intelliges*, said a great Prophet, beleeve and you shall understand. But we must beleeve first, and by that obscure step of beleeve, which is a dusky twi-light, between the

the darknes of infidelity we lived in before, and the light of truth we go to ; arrive we at length to all futur happiness.

BUT we in *England* that pretend this new Light and secret Spirit, are separated by it from a former Church, but brought to none. Nor are we made disciples by it, but maisters on the suddain, and inabled to teach all men that which we never received from any. Which is absolutely against the whole cours of Christianity, and will, if it be admitted, set open a gap unto all fanatick fancies.

St. *Paul* professes he was apostle not of men, nor by men, but by God ; And the reason is, because his first call was extraordinary from heaven, as was likewise the suggestion he had to his mission. And yet that God that called him, although he showed him so singular a favour, yet would he not dispense with his own orders and constitutions even in him, but sent him to the good Priest *Ananias*, to be by him instructed, and catechised, and admitted into his Church. And with those people, St. *Paul* found in the profession of that faith, did he often conferre ; even he that was so strangely called from heaven, conferred the Gospel, which afterwards he preached, as himself speaks in his epistle to the *Galatians*, with those people, and with that Church, he found in actual possession and profession of that faith, *Least*, saith he, *I should have run in vain* ; that is, least he should do, or think, or preach any thing amiss, contrary to the truth received unto which he was called ; which he could no otherwaies, by the constitutions Jesus himself had made, be assured of, but by comparing his doctrine with that which was beleevd and practised in the Church before him ; into which he was now incorporated, as a member in that body, by the assistance of the grace he had received, to be first a disciple, and then afterwards a maister and teacher. And when he did become a doctour, he did not make himself one, no nor his calling by Christ sufficed to do it ; but he was made such a one, under the hands

of the Apostles, and by their approbation, authority, and sacred ordination, as may be seen in the book of the Acts ch. 13. Nor was he to teach without that Churches leave, or contrary to her faith, but by her direction, and in subjection to her.

This is a faithfull speech, and worthy of all consideration, which seriously pondered would dissipate in a moment all what ever pretences of Light, Spirit, Reason, or other thing, that shal move any to a new way by himself, contrary to what he hath received and seen practised in the Church before him. And if any would seriously peruse the *Acts* of the Apostles, wherein the footsteps of primitive Christianity sufficiently appear, he shall find, that all that were called unto Christs religion, were brought to the feet of the Apostles and priests, who received them at the door, and brought them into the house of God, by the laver of baptism, and imposition of hands, and confession of sins. And it was not onely the ordinary, but sole ingress into that Church. And none were ever esteemed to be of that body, but only by those means; which also the pastours of the Church were onely to mannage. He that comes not in at that door, saith Christ, is neither sheep nor shepherd, but a thief and a robber. And true Christian religion consists not in going out of a Church, but coming in, there to submit to the ancient dictates of piety, which Christ revealed.

Puritan Plea.

TO a judicious man, whom a word sufficeth, it will already appear, that no opinion or way here in England can have any advantage over others, by vertue of discoveries made by any light, spirit, or reason. Since there can no such be legally pretended, to set up any new religion apart from the former; but to joyn rather with the old, which if it be not absolutely true, Christ is not God,

God, and all Christianity but a human invention. But yet for the further satisfaction of my reader, I will look a little more particularly into the wayes and pretensions of all parties, and as briefly too, as may be.

The *Quaker* is in appearance very just and honest; his open pretences good and plausible, and looks spiritual enough to one of our vulgar readers, unto whose judgement they be well proportioned. For good words are put together to promote solid and sincere honesty, and to evacuate that empty show of piety, which has now generally taken place in the world, in lieu of the real substance, that is in a manner quite vanished out of our hearts and hands. But these words are so strangely jumbled together, that every line has good sens in it, but all together none. For as they carry no reference to any one supreme scope, to which as the utmost object of the whole discours all those phrases may be applied; so being well examined and compared together, they will be found very frequently to gain-say one another. And he that looks for connexion and correspondence either of sens or sentence, will lose his labour. I have never seen any thing, that for stile and context of speech doth more nearly resemble *Mahomets* Alcoran, than a good *Quakers* book. In both be handsome words, som dreaming conceits interlarded with undeniable truths, much imperious censur of all mankind, that will not submit to that way, frequent comminations, endles tautologies, and no connexion. And it would even amaze a man to see how pathetically the good *Quaker* decies all mortal men, and tramples them under his feet, with pious words most uncouthly put together; in a manner, as far as I am able to imitate him, to this purpos.

“The Lord hath begun a good work upon the earth,
 “and he will finish it, men shall see it with their eyes, and
 “all darknes shall be confounded before his feet, a little
 “thing within thee shall lay thy shame open, and strike
 “thee hip and thigh, his goings are mighty, and nothing
 H + can

" can resist the breath of his nostrils, when he shall make
 " the mountains to smoke and the hills to tremble before the
 " arm of his power, when he begins to make his Saints glo-
 " rious, he will do it, all that has exalted it self shall fall,
 " root and branch, and the proud cedar must down, thou
 " shalt see it in that day, it will come upon thee, even as
 " pangs upon a woman in travel, *Babylon* shall fall, and
 " all the glory of men be laid in the dust, when Christ
 " shall reign in his little ones, and they in him, ther must
 " be an end, an end to adulteries and darknes, an end to
 " pride, to tyranny, to all the sons of men, that the Lord
 " may be all in all, woe, woe, woe, is it not told
 " thee, is not the truth preached, is not the light
 " already come, and yet men hate it, the sons of men
 " hate it, they persecute that light, but light cannot be
 " hurt, it cannot be prevailed over, they may show their
 " spleen to the truth, but all their spight it must end, it
 " must yield at last, nothing is stronger than truth, not wit,
 " not strength, not policy, not wealth, not pride, not
 " falshood, the horns of the beast must fall off, as well the
 " little as the great one, when the beast is slain & cast out
 " into the wildernes, to the fowls of the air, to be devoured
 " by the beasts of the field: the Presbyterian preaches for
 " hire, does he not preach for hire, does he not walk in black
 " the colour of the whore, does he not frequent steeple-
 " houses or bellhouses built by Papists, and prophaned
 " with adulteries and fornications with idols, he sets open
 " his wares in a shop, commonly called a pulpet, a popish
 " name, does he not court and cap and cringe for lucre,
 " filthy lucre, according to men, is ther any power of god-
 " lines in him, truth and the word of God does not consist
 " in words, it is not written in paper, 'tis here within thee,
 " hearken to it, yield obedience there, attend what it says
 " there, what is protestant, a meer carnal idol, a cheat, a
 " domination, an imp of popery, the eldest brat of the
 " whore, thou canst not, thou canst not, thou canst not
 " stand,

"stand, thou art assuredly to fall before the arm of the
 "lord, which is bared against thee, and all thy cheating
 "lies shall be laid open in the dust, for men to trample, &
 "go over, and tread under their feet, O popery, idolatry,
 "sin, lies, thefts, tyrannies, wickedness, darknes, hearken
 "unto me, come to the light and hear it speak, it will guide
 "thee, it will guide thee to the truth, it is a sweet thing
 "within thee, it speaks comfort, it makes thee see and hate
 "all kind of corruption, if thou wilt heed it, and hearken
 "to it, and follow it, it will make thee condemn thy self,
 "condemn all mortal men, condemn pride and the glory of
 "this world, and all popish superstitions, and all that ex-
 "alts it self, popes, cardinals, principalities, steeplehouses,
 "to lye in the dirt and dust of the earth, which will be
 "sweeter to thee with that light within thee, than the silks
 "and gold and earthly pelf of this world, ministry and
 "magistracy, and worldly power, the two horns of the
 "beast is invented only by Antichrist, to oppress Christ,
 "the Pope is the old serpent, the grand seducer, he it is that
 "shows the apple that is fair to the eye and sweet to the
 "taste, but poison in the stomach, the Saints and little ones
 "must rule; and all iniquity shall be don away, the light
 "will dissolv all the beasts ten horns, &c.

Well good neighbour, it is enough. When Christ comes
 we will worship him, and beg to be admitted into his king-
 dom. Till then let us have peace, which is I am sure some
 part of it. We cannot answer you, if that will satisfy you,
 whom I know no answer will. Every good man in the
 world wishes with you, that all iniquity were don away;
 and well may you, I should think, content your selves with
 them to wish it so to all, and see it don in your own per-
 sons. Why do you flock together and trouble the world
 with your useles clamours? and put it so out of tune, that
 Christ when he comes, can find no quiet entertainment in
 the land, for the wars and broils his great Saints have rai-
 sed in it? If you talk a little longer of Christs coming,
 and

and make way for him, as the fanaticks did last *January*, with bright steel armour and shining head-pieces, sharp cimeters, pistols and harquebusses, stoutly fighting, and severely declaring against the whole earth, whom they condemned to ruin, we have reason to fear that the surname of this your Christ will be *Oliver*, and your golden dayes be the slaughter and ruin of your innocent neighbours. If your meaning be good, show it by your peaceable conversation; and speak no more to us; for we need it not and heed it as little; but say your prayers in your closets, and prepare your selves for his coming, whom you judge so near. Nothing is so suspicious as tumultuous piety. And I do earnestly request, you would seriously peruse two short stories related by wise *Gamaliel* in the fifth chapter of the *Acts*, and make them a part of your primer. *Men Israelites*, saith he, *look to these men what you are to do. Before these dayes there was one Theodas professing himself to be some body, unto whom consented a number of men about four hundred, who was slain and all that beleev'd him, was dissipated and brought to nothing. After him there was Judas Galileus in the dayes of profession, and he drew people after him; and he perished himself, and so many as consented to him were dispers'd. And both these rose up under a pretens of piety; and, if I be not mistaken, for Christ too; whose reign they would have set up in Palestine before his first coming, or thereabouts, even as you would now before his second, to the disturbance of the Kingdom you live in.*

So then, good friends, setting aside your violent exclamations against all that adhere not to you, which you cannot your selves justify, humility and peace being the great and inseparable property of piety; if it be true and real, our agreement with you is already made. For the true light you magnifie we praise it too, and hope we enjoy it; the vice you deplore we do equally detest; the coming and reign of Christ we hope and wish for, with all Christian
 resigna-

resignation ; and the two horns of ministry and magistracy, as soon as the world is grown so good and peaceable, as ther shall be no further use of them, will be taken away. But till all iniquity, &c the wild beasts you speak of, be rid out of the earth, I hope you will be so rational, as not to think we will throw away the only horns of our safety ; and if you do well, you need not fear the sword either of spiritual or temporal power. The Apostles were never rebellious to any authority they found established in the world. Nor is ther any power upon earth can justly disturb a Prince or Kingdom, by pretens of any light, truth or religion, which be it never so true, is to be humbly offered not violently intruded upon any. And if the law of a Kingdom should chance to forbid them, ther is not any religion upon earth, be it never so pure, can ever justify any populous meetings in streets against that law. The ancient Christians did never in that manner affront any magistrate. Privately they met indeed to serv their Redeemer, and in woods and caves far remote from people : But they never flocked in multitudes to the open affront of a law amongst the inhabitants, in their markets, streets, and places of concours. And they that do otherwis have not the primitive spirit of ancient Christians in them. When they were once taken, and drawn out of their holes or caves or private habitations, they suffred patiently : but they never cast themselves into open danger or scandal ; nor did they ever in any place publikely outface the Lawes, however they might seem unjust. Real honesty, which is all you pretend unto, may, I suppose, be practised without noise : and the light you boast of, may as well be consulted at home in your closets, as at a meeting in the streets.

The *Anabaptist* walks with the *Quaker*, and makes up with him a pair of *Independents*. His books carry the like pious strain, but have somewhat a clearer colour of art, and less of zeal. The particular controversy of *Infant-baptisme*, which becaus he allows not of it, gives him his special name,
I will

I will not meddle with. But his great argument, why children should not be baptised, namely becaus they cannot either know what is don to them, or concurr themselves to the effect, if it were of force, might in my mind equally hinder their corporal nurs to wash or make them clean, unto which they are so far from concurring, that as much as they are able they resist it, and struggle, and kick, and cry amain when 'tis don, not knowing what good is don to them. And as ther is as much need of the spiritual washing as of that; so can God as easily with his laver make their souls clean without their help, as we their bodies. However, gentlemen *Anabaptists*, if you will not wash your children, you will give us leav I hope to baptise ours; which if it should not do them good, yet will it for certain do you no harm. Custom is a tyrant, and we cannot but keep it; if you like it not, *Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet.*

As the *Papist* is defensiv against the *Protestant*, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent*, who all hate and persecute him; so is the *Independent* offensiv against them all: But the intermediat *Presbyterian* and *Protestant* are in an offensiv postur against their foregoers, and defensive against their revolting successors.

The *Presbyterian* very much renowned in these days for his zealous prayer and preaching, does not so much heed the bitings of his junior *Independent*, whether *Anabaptist* or *Quaker*, weaker than himself both in learning and repute; as he does endeavour to disable the *Prelate-Protestant* his foregoer, whose gravity and long continuance in the land, with much estimation and applaus, cannot without great hostility and force of wit, be, as he could wish, utterly disparaged. And so the *Presbyterians* caus in this great contest, bears in a manner this scheme of plea against the *Protestant episcopacy*.

"Your Monarchick-superintendency, wherein one
"should tyrannise and lord it over many in spiritual af-
"fairs,

"fairs, we can no wayes approv, against the lively current
 "of Gospel-dispensations, in which if any will be greater
 "than the rest, let him that he may be so indeed, by the
 "form that is in Christ, who being in his divinity-fulnes
 "emptied himself into the figure of a servant, be made the
 "least. We have all one Lord and Maister, and we equally
 "his servants, unto whom alone we either stand or fall,
 "from whose fulnes we receiv all of us, grace for grace.
 "Did not the maister check his apostles for the like spirit-
 "ambition, when they laboured against the vein of the in-
 "goings of humble Christ within their souls, to be one
 "greater than another, wheras they were all indifferently
 "under him whom they called Lord and Maister, and by
 "his own testimony very truly. And if we be successors to
 "the Apostles in soul-ministry and dispensations of
 "Gospel-verities, we succeed them also in their absolute
 "independency upon any other Lord but himself, who is
 "all in all. The first reforming Protestants in the fulnes
 "of time and age of reconciliation-light, whom we ac-
 "knowledg to be indued with most ample gifts and es-
 "sences of Christ within the closets of their souls, strug-
 "gled, and lilt, and bore up more resolutely against this
 "Papal-government, the very Egyptian residence, whence
 "succeeding darknes spred it self about the world, than any
 "one or other pernicious doctrin which might have flow-
 "ed from that fount, unto the obstructing of the light-dis-
 "pensation from above, upon the Lords precious people.
 "And not without reason, for all doctrin-vassallage was
 "exercised, and kept in hand by that Episcopacy power
 "over mens immortal souls, whose command belongs only
 "unto him who sees and rules hearts, to the utter ruin of
 "all Chistian liberty in the Gospel-messengers, who now
 "were to administer to hungry mouths of soul-starved
 "persons, not bread of life from heavenly places, but husks
 "and chaff from the earthly pallaces of dry and deceitful
 "dictates of men. Nor was this Prelate-presidentship
 "ever

" ever permitted in any reformed Churches beyond the
 " seas, where reformation-light first sprang forth, but pul-
 " led down and abhorred either as downright Popery, or
 " at least the shadow and imitation of it. And we who
 " be the lights of the world, and salt of the whole earth, as
 " we are to refrain from all show of evil, so can we not
 " find upon earth any superior spirit-power, by which
 " we may be made good. For if the primary lights of
 " the world and stars of the firmament be once put out, who
 " shall lighten them again, whose abode is in earth and
 " clay? And if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith
 " shall it be seasoned? Nor can we be ignorant that this
 " Episcopacy-power was set up in *England* many years af-
 " ter Reformation-ingress, by the ambitious policy of some
 " men, who falling from their former humility-spirit, set up
 " that chair of a State-spiritual for themselves, which
 " when another sate in it, they used all kind of endeavour,
 " force and power to throw it down.

" Can prelate-affecters deny that Episcopacy-power
 " was by the first and purest reformation-light utterly sub-
 " verted? If you know it not, the finalness of your judge-
 " ment will condemn you; if you know it, and do the con-
 " trary, you are condemned in your own judgment. And
 " if the reformation was impure in this, then was Protes-
 " tant Reformation corrupt both in its first birth, and
 " the most glorious of all its enterprises, wherein our con-
 " sciences were withdrawn from the tyrant-yokes of invei-
 " gling men, unto the sweet influences of Christ, who as he
 " is the great pastour of souls, so he is sure not to mis-
 " lead his flock, by any such passions as do frequently do-
 " mineer in man, when he is once set over his fellow ser-
 " vants, pride, ignorance, self-will and interest. And if
 " we be once brought again to the same ancient servile yoke
 " of conscience-tyranny, to receive our light and influ-
 " ences from men as before we did under Popery, why
 " may we not by the same strong tide of an irresistible

" self.

"self-leading power, be driven uncontrollably to the same
 "or greater errors? Except you will say, that the Arch-
 "bishop of Canterbury is a surer and more unerring guide
 "than the Romish bishop. Both of them I am sure be
 "men and equally fallible, who standing either of them
 "betwixt us and home, may by their usurped power
 "over consciences, which be only subject to the invisible
 "Lord of truth, lead us again either into our ancient or
 "some new invented error; and if they impose the yolk,
 "who can resist them. But the Lord of truth cannot lye,
 "and the beams of his light falling immediately upon his
 "peace-messengers, as once upon the Apostles in cloven
 "tongues of fire, untainted with the interposition of any
 "intervening obstacle, must needs be both clear and true.
 "I will teach you all things, saith he, to his Apostles. He
 "said not, that one of them should teach another; nor did
 "those cloven tongues descend first from Christ upon Pe-
 "ter, from Peter to Andrew, from Andrew to John, and
 "so forward in an hierarchical line, which Papists imagin
 "in their Church; but from Christ alone immediately up-
 "on them all. Nor can you move us at all, by telling us
 "as you do of antient tradition for Episcopacy-power,
 "even from Christ time unto this present age, sith all those
 "times and places are concluded by the pious Reformation
 "under popish darkness, which began even in Pauls time,
 "when the mystery of iniquity, even this mystery of papal
 "tyranny began to work, and so overwhelmed the whole
 "earth, till at length the Lord was pleased by the foolish-
 "ness of preaching, to enlighten those little ones, who
 "were predestined to believe a truth, aforetime hidden to
 "all the sons of men. Did we not all appeal from such
 "popish traditions to the oracle, to the gospel, to the word
 "of God, and to the truth that cannot lye. And what
 "other instrument did we make use of, to the abolishing
 "of that human supremacy over mens souls, which now
 "again by erroneous tradition you would, contrary to your
 "own

"own principles, obtrude upon us, than that very word
 "and oracle. And the Gospel, which as it is now by Re-
 "formation-purity put into every mans hand, so is every
 "man, the ministers successors to the Apostles by the help
 "of Christs light, which by frequent prayer they unite to
 "themselves, the people by light they receive from gospel-
 "ministers, to interpret and understand it, is totally with
 "us and for us. Look into the gospel of Matthew, &c. *Hic*
 "*subauditur longus textuum catalogus ab initio ad finem*
 "*Biblie contra episcopatum.* If you reply that we must
 "for the sense of all these places have recours unto the
 "Church; what Church do you mean? yours, out of
 "which you say we are fallen, or the popish Church which
 "both you and we deserted? Take which you will: for the
 "same reasons & gospel-verities equally reject them both.
 "And if we must hearken to your Church, out of which
 "you say we are fallen, why then did not you obey that
 "Church out of which you fell your selves. If that wer in
 "errour, and therfor to be deserted, yours is in no bet-
 "ter condition. But the invisible congregation of the faith-
 "full, which in our first reformation we took to be the
 "Church, can never fail. And if you begin now to take
 "the Church in a popish sence for any hierarchical pre-
 "lacy, you do at once condemn your selves both of incon-
 "stancy and dissimulation, and also of violation of gospel,
 "and rebellion against that visible Church our forefathers
 "found themselves in, unto which it seems now by this
 "tenour of your speech they were bound by their Chri-
 "stianity to obey. Scriptur authority you have none for
 "you, nay it is against you. Human words and practi-
 "ses, now rid by Christ of all those servil yokes, we vauw
 "not; and the true light of purest Reformation, which
 "you have deserted, sith it it is with us as at the beginning,
 "we must not forfeit; nor do any thing may obstruct the
 "ingoiings and outgoings of little Christ within us.

Whiles the *Presbyterian* is hotly busied in this his plea
 against

against the *Prelate-Protestant*, the *Independent* touches his elbow; and advises him to bethink himself; lest with the same weapon he wound his adversary; and kill himself. For if such reasonings, saith he; be of value, what will then becom of the clerical *Presbyterian* black-coat, which being derived from popery, finds no more grounds in scriptur than episcopacy hath. Are not all men equally subject to Christ, and capable alike of his divine influences? And so indeed it is said of the times of Christianity; *And they shall be all taught of God.* How then com other teachers to intrude betwixt us and God; to obstruct and taint and variously infect his light. Those; upon whom the Holy Ghost descended, were all lay men, as we be, and som of them women too. But as soon as the *Presbyterian* turning upon him called him fanatick; the *Protestant* cried, In neither barrel better herring, ye are both so. It was presently replied by them both; when did the spirit leav us to speak unto you? by what light or scriptur can you make that good, you that are blinded in your own errors. The *Catholick* coming by, it is an antient proverb; quoth he, When cheeves fall our, honest men may hope to com to their owne goods again.

§. 11. *Protestant pro and con.*

What advantage then can the pious *Quaker* have against the zealous *Presbyterian*; or both of them against the honest *Protestant*? Whiles all of them find words enough, out of scriptur and reasons thence deduced, to throw at one another. And each side is both disputant and moderatour, both opponent and maister of the chair, both interpreter and judg. The *Roman* catholick I do not here mention. For he taking for his guide and judg that Churches Prelate from whom he first received his scriptur and faith, and expecting all resolutions of doubts only from those lips, can never stagger, or fall into perplexity.

But with *Protestant*, *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, whose utmost resolv is in their own hands, the case is otherways. And the combat that is amongst them is the most desperate imaginable; whiles any visible speaking judg being excluded by them all, each one fights against all the rest with the same topick ratiocinations, which must as much overthrow him that uses them, as they do his adversaries. *Scriptur* is for us, *Scriptur* is easie and we have it, the spirit that is in us teaches all truth, the light from above is only to direct us, and not men who are lyeis, &c. So that to the same combatant must needs happen by the same means both death and victory. And the same authorities and argumentations, if any of them obtain his desire, must bear both a probability for him, and a prejudice against him. Thus the *Protestant*, if he do or will pretend to convince the *Presbyterian*; then must he at the same time & for the same reasons yield to the *Roman Catholick*, with whose discourses and arguments he flourishes and triumphs against him; and yet being uttered from the mouths and pens of *Catholicks* against himself, he contemned and jeered them. And if the *Presbyterian* texts and reasons be of force against the *Protestant*, then must the *Protestant* fall by that instrument, by which himself stands and subsists against the *Papist*, against whom he hath ever used those very assertions and arguments: and the *Presbyterian* too must stand and fall upon the same account, the same weapon laying him dead before the *Independent*, which against the *Protestant* supports him. The *Independent*, if he be able by strength of his light and spirit, to maintain himself against all his foregoers, *Presbyterian*, *Protestant* and *Papist*; then by the same reasons must he needs fall, when a new fancy rises by any succeeding generation. A strange case and indeed a meer riddle, but a certain truth. And the *Catholick* all this while to a disinterested understanding, whiles all his enemies condemn one another, stands uncontrollably justified in his oppositions to them. The *Independent* is in the wrong,

wrong, saith the *Presbyterian* and *Protestant*; the *Presbyterian* erres, saith the *Protestant* and *Independent*; the *Protestant* is deceived, saith the *Independent* and *Presbyterian*; You are all mad men, quoth the *Roman Catholick*; you first abused and supplanted me; and now by the same wayes and means, you do supplant and abuse one another.

But if I may interpose my judgment, the *Protestant*, although I honour his gravity above the rest, seems to be in a worse case, than either *Presbyterian* or *Independent*. For these in maintaining themselves in their wayes, do but strike home the first principles of Protestant reformation; whereas the *Prelate Protestant*, to defend himself against them, is forced to make use of those very principles, which not only forrein Reformers, but even our English Protestants before Queen *Elizabeths* dayes when they contested against popery, destroyed: as be the difference betwixt clergy and laity, the efficacy of episcopal ordination, the authority of a *visible Church* which all are to obey: and the like. So that upon him falls most heavily, even like thunder and lightning from heaven, utterly to kill and cut him asunder, that great oracle delivered by *S. Paul*, in his letter he wrote to the Christians of Galatia, *Si que destruxi iterum hac aedifico, pravaricatore me constituo*. "If I build up again the things, I formerly destroyed, I make myself a prevaricator, an impostour, a reprobate. A heavy sentence. But truth will out, and wisdom will be justified at long running, even by her greatest adversaries. It seems that those pieces of popery, we so desperately inveiged against, for our own interest, were indeed not evil but good, and the Reformation in that point not good but evil.

The *Protestant* may indeed with some plausible show excuse himself; and say, that the first Reformers though sent from God, yet might they notwithstanding have some little mixtur of human passion and infirmity, and so out do their work, and decry more than in truth they

ought to have don; as he that would straighten a crooked wand, bends it as much the other way, to the end that by that over-force it may at length recover its mediocrity and straightness: and what ever is done amiss by earnestness of passion, may by a second thought be mended. This excuse would find place in any business of human concernment. But whether it may be of any weight in affairs of religion and divine faith, I leave others to judge. For what may be pretended by all unto endless changes, can never be rightly said by any. And *S. Paul* having assigned that property as a signal mark of a *Prevaricator*, I should think we may believe it, without further dispute.

However by the reassuming of this episcopacy, be it the substance or shadow of *Papery*, or what you please, our English Protestant Church became by that means, the very best and choicest flower of all the Reformation. No order, no decency, no peace, no uniformity, in all the world, where Protestantism was received, like unto that we here enjoyed under our Bishops in *England*. Nor could any man by the force of nature suspect any the least rottenness, in the foundation of such a handsome fabrick. I am sure I had not, but by a strange chance that hapned to me in my childhood.

And although our *Prelate-Protestant* is not able to answer the *Presbyterian* objection, standing upon his own first principles of *Reformation*, which do indeed, and ever will justify all revolts to the worlds end: yet by the principles of his *Recovery*, those I mean, by which he reassumed Episcopacy, too precipitously decried by the first Reformers, which principles be firm and good and right Christianity, he will easily frustrate and dissolve all opposition. But then he must creep into the bosom of Roman Catholics, and beg the assistance of their arguments, which before he foolishly contemned. For every Body, be it what it will, natural, politick or spiritual, must so long as it remains entire and sound, have the same principal parts and organs

organs it was born withal, and cannot endure long even in a contrary postur of them, without dissolution ad ruin. Take any kingdom that is settled in a Monarchy, and if you endeavour once the subversion of that Polity, you do at the same time take away the life of all her laws and rights, and utterly disturb her happines and peace, which are so mixed and intangled in the very nerves and sinews of her laws, and these again so settled upon the Polity, as upon the prime innate influent Calid, and radical primogeneal Humid, that all goes together, and take part alike either in weal or woe. This truth we have had a sad experience of, in the time of our late civil warres, wherein our Monarchy once subverted we all perished with it, and our rights and welfare at such a loss, that no man could say, that aught he had remaining was his own. It must needs be so; for the government what ever it be, is before the laws; and the laws receive all their strength and vigour from the acknowledged authority of that power, from whence they are derived.

Now, that the Christian Church was first monarchicall under one Sovereign *Byshop*, when *Christ* who founded it was upon earth, no man will deny. For Aristocracy or Democracy it could not be; sith all his twelve Apostles were under him as his disciples, and not fellow doctours or legislatours with him. Nor did he ever pretend to receive his authority from men, but immediately from God above, unto whom he was personally united. This authority of his must first be accepted, before his word can be believed, or his law acknowledged. And these laws must have all their force from that power, which according to its firmitude of truth, gives them all their life and vigour, which remains and dies with it and with the government, under which the laws and doctrine began. It appears then that all the laws and rules and promises, and whole doctrine of Christianity, are founded upon the spiritual Monarchy of *Jesus*, who was *Man-God*; that he might be both unto

human kind, a fit and proportioned head as *Man*; and uncontrollable, independent, and infallible, as *God*. And hence it must needs follow, that the subversion of episcopacy, which is the spiritual monarchy in which our Lord founded his Church, must needs weaken and by degrees utterly destroy all faith. For the ruin of the Polity is the death of all the laws founded in it.

Nor will it suffice, if an *Independent* or *Presbyterian* say, that they are still under their head *Christ*, who being in heaven hath his spiritual influences over them: I say this suffices not. For the true Church of Christ whersoever it is, must have the same head and government she had at first; or else she cannot be the same body, and that head was *Man*. *God* personally present in both his natures, with the body of his Church here on earth. And although *Christ* may, and does supply the invisible part of his Godhead influence upon his mystick body; yet a visible head or Bishop if the Church hath not now over her, as at first she had, to lead and govern her under *God*, as *Christ*s vicegerent, she is not the same she was, and consequently in the way to ruin. What then, you will say, cannot *God* preserve his Church without the help of man? I answer, we must not here dispute what *God* can do; but what he will do. *God* can warm the earth, and make fruits to grow, and us to see, without the sun. But if he have otherwise ordained, we must expect those effects from the cause he hath set, and no other ways. And that all truths are to be expected from his Church, and from him he hath substituted in his place to govern as visible Pastour, is manifestly apparent, both by his own law, and practise, and our experience. By his law; when he sayes, that he who will not hear his Church should be as a publican and reprobate. By his practise; when he would not have his own supernatural vocation and endowment and light from heaven, to suffice *St. Paul* either to make him a Christian, or a Teacher, till he had received both from the hands of his

his Church and pastors. By our experience; while we see from age to age, that all those that once withdraw themselves from the Church, and from her pastour and government, let the occasion be what it will, or never so little, do run themselves restlessly into endless schisms, denying one thing after another, still from less to more, till at length all Christianity be cancelled; and beginning with scisme they end with atheisme: all truth, unity and peace, being to be had only from and in that one Church, which as *St. Paul* does well and wisely call it Christs body, so is it only animated with his spirit of truth; and from the government there appointed, which is episcopal; & in a special manner from the chief pastour there presiding, ruling & directing, in place of Jesus Christ, unto whom all obey in yielding obeysance unto him in spiritual affairs, according to his own order and appointment. Nor is ther any more certain rule of discerning the approaching ruin of Christianity in any person or people, than when we see them either secretly to undermine, or openly to oppugn episcopal authority. He that intends ill to the whole body, be he man or beast, will generally assault the head; but he that invades the head, cannot but in prudence be interpreted to intend ill to the whole body.

This being once well pondered, as a thing of such weighty concernment deserves; we shall begin both to suspect, that the first reformers *Luther* and *Calvin*, who being Priests under the Papal hierarchy flew out against the Church, wherof they had been members, and furiously cryed down both Pope and all episcopacy, wer not sent from God: and likewise conclude, that the counsel of *Queen Elizabeth* did wisely reassume that ancient form of Church government, though it were opposite to the principles of reformation and judgement of all the first reformers; becaus it was both most conformable to the times of primitive Christianity, and in all reason most likely to conserv the land in unity. And if we wer once by Gods

grace freed from preconceived prejudice, we should all of us as clearly see and love the beauty of papal doctrine, as now some of us allow of papal government in the Church. Nor is there any thing commendable in any reformation, but that and only that, which it hath in it of Popery. And lastly we shall easily discern, that the Presbyterian plea and all its arguments, or whatever else they can have to say against episcopacy, are of no value, and indeed too slight for me to insist upon their solution.

I had a mind here to decipher the *Protestant* plea against the *Papist*. But I find, that there cannot be made any one scheme of it, as of the *Independent* and *Presbyterian*, because these, the first of them speaks so generally of all things, that he seldom touches upon any one particular; the other, so insists upon one particular, that he troubles himself with nothing else. And a man may know, what both of them would have. But all these, and several other Reformations, when they set their face against the *Roman Catholick*, go all under the general name of *Protestants*; and speak several and contradictory things, one accusing them for that, which the other approves. And generally they do neglect their doctrine, and inveigh against the vices and follies, which either they put upon them, or are indeed found amongst some people or persons, that do profess that faith, in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy* or other parts; as pride, tyranny, drunkenness, lechery, foolish gambols, and usages of Countreys; with which Protestant books against popery are lustily stuffed up. Or if they do indeed speak to their doctrine, it is done only with some witty jest and jeer. And so having given it a slap with a fox tail, they pass soberly on to other matters in hand, as is commonly done in the pulpits of witty preachers. Or if they handle it more seriously, they do either for their own advantage mistake the doctrine, or the proofs they bring against it; whether through fraud or ignorance 'tis hard to say. And the foundations of catholick religion, which be tradition and scripture,

year, they do so variously expound in several times and places; that one text shall have twenty several interpretations, which, if they be not catholick, pass all for good. Here and at one time an authority of a father or a council shall be accepted and diversly interpreted, in another time and place quite rejected. Now one piece of catholick doctrine shall be vehemently cryed down; and at another time taken up again and maintained. And at one and the same time, in several parts of the world, twenty points, for example, of Catholick faith, shall all of them be somewhere received, and somewhere rejected amongst *Protestants*. For they being still their own maisters, may choos and throw away what they pleas, and as long as they list, without controul. Whereas the *Romans*, keeping still one and the same treasury of religion and faith, afford matter for them all either to take or leav, either to approve or laugh at, as they list; as a well furnished table affords wanton children, both what they may feed upon themselves, and what being full, they may spoil and play with, and cast to the dogs.

§. 12. *Scriptur.*

ANd whence com all these divisions? Only from this, that every man hath a reason, an interpretation, a light, a spirit of his own, by which the Bible, which is now in all mens hands, is made to speak what we pleas; and our thoughts and tongues are our own, what lord shall us controul. This is a sad case: while all of us, upon those only motives, which all men may take up at any time to abuse his innocent neighbour, proceed to mutual hostility without end. The very books that have been written by *Protestants* this last hundred years, as they be furious and virulent, so be they also so many and various, that they would, if they were all brought together, fill up the Tower of *London*. And by them have people been inflamed to such a height against *Catholicks* that their bodies, dignities, honours,

nours, fame, houses, and goods, have been ineffably harassed to this day. And yet no body can say, what ill that religion ever did in the world, until *Henry* the eighth day, when it was first rejected and persecuted. And when we have laid them in the dust, we flie upon one another, and pull and tear upon the same motiv, all that stands in our light. Reflect countrimen upon your selves. Shall we continue in a contest, that can never possibly be ended; and being prosecuted to the utmost, must needs infer a general ruin upon all? For whatsoever we say against any one, may be said by the other against our selves, and proved by the same argument. And the same thing may be don to us, upon the very same account we do it to another.

All appellation to a visible judg is by all our Anticholicks jointly excluded. And to the *Roman Catholick*, with whom unity hath ever dwelt, we will not return. Nor can it be yet expected. For the general disrepute unto that way, hath so filled our ears and hearts, that hating the very name of *Papist*, we have not power to consider soberly, what their religion may be. Nay we are verily perswaded even from our nurses milk, that *Protestants* are the onely professors, and *Papists* enemies to the gospel. Although to all the world besides, the gospel is well enough known, to be the *Roman catholicks* own and sole religion, by which they walked and lived here in *England*, many hundred years unto a fruitfulness of all good works, before *Protestancy* appeared. And we pretend to fight against them only for the gospel, and with the gospel; whiles they forsooth are beleevved, to have nothing at all to defend themselves, but a little traditional trumpery of mans inventions, with a greater heap of vices of their own. And upon this account, proceed all our books that are written against *Papists* and *Popery*; in effect like unto that picture, that was carried not long ago up and down the Protestant world, wherein was drawn a fair Ballance, as a type of the two religions, in whose left hand scale hanged beads, girdles, cardinals caps,

caps, monks hoods, fryars cowles, disciplines, crosses, to signify *Popery*; in the other a fair great Bible to signify *Protestancy* which hanging upon the ground, quite weighed up the other scale into the air, as light as very vanity. As though the Bible were no part of Catholick religion, which rightly understood is all of it. And so credulous is the generality of mankind, that by such toies as these, we are carried away unto not only a dislike, but even the highest detestation and contempt of a sacred religion, without further examination. But what do I speak of the generality of the vulgar! Even our sober and most judicious men, who in other things speak and think like oracles, in this business of *Popery*, are not abashed to speak like children, that talk of hobgoblins in the dark. So prevalent is a prejudice brought upon us by the virulent impression of often iterated calumnies. Nor are we able by the restraint of this great prejudice, either to read the books, or ponder seriously the reasons of our catholick neighbours for their faith. Yea I have heard some *Protestants* in other things most wise and judicious to say openly, that as for *Papists* he loved their persons, but their religion he hated in his heart. The reason is clear, he knew the one and not the other. But if he and others had known what I only have seen myself, they would admire and love the religion, tho' they might have cause to dislike some of those that profess it.

And as we do all of us by this old imbibed prejudice detest *Popery*, though we know not what it is: so by any new-received dislike, when we have once bodied with any one faction, we revile all the rest. And none will yield to another; although in all reason, that religion that hath precedency of time, with all the other helps any junior way can pretend unto, might, one would think, have so much, if not precedency, yet equality of respect, as not to be, by a way that is new in the world, so bitterly reviled. Especially when all that venomous bitterness, which by any junior sect is cast upon his foregoer, may and is as heavily thrown

thrown upon himself by his successor. Thus rancour and malice spreads abroad in our hearts and whole kingdom, against his rule and doubtles to his great displeasur, who carefully obliged us to the contrary rules of love. And, which is to be lamented, the first sours and origin of all these defamations is the Pulpit: where both by word and example, we are taught to defame, and hate, even those we do not know. We may fear som great curs lies upon our poor nation for these our unnatural disorders; even so far as to blind us, that we cannot see the truth. Unto his dogs set upon their devouring sport; even *Alceon* the maister may seem a stag, and be torn a pieces by them. Wrath puts a new shape upon an adversary, who through such a black *medium*, though he be never so innocent in himself, will appear all odious; especially when the wrath is unjust and the occasion of it is taken, but not given. For then 'tis cursed, and works marvellous dark effects in the heart of him that bears it. And by this, we may suspect our selves to be blasted with such an unwarrantable passion, when upon a conceived prejudice of our own, we do more hate those that have done us good, than such as really hurt us. I cannot but take notice, that our learned *Protestant*, these twenty years he hath by the *Puritan* been outed of his ecclesiastical possessions, wrote little or nothing against him, and with no considerable violence; but most virulenc books he put forth continually against the *Papist*, who did him no harm, and meddled not at all with him, and then hanged with him upon the same cross of persecution, and might justly reply unto him as the good thief to the evil one, *Nunquid tu non Deum times, qui in eadem damnatione es?* Hast thou no fear of God before thy eyes, who art in the same damnation with us?

And what evil hath the *Protestant* ever received from the *Roman-catholick* that he should treat him thus? Even none at all; but all good imaginable. The *Protestant* hath been instructed in his Universities, *Oxford* and *Cambridge* being

being both of them built by *Catholicks*, as well as the cathedrals and parish Churches, he hath lived all his life upon their benefices, studies their books, preaches in their pulpits, even that gospel which he had from catholick archives. This is the harm the *Catholick* ever did, or the *Protestant* received from him. And yet, Lord, what volumes of invectives do we pour forth even to this day, against him who hath don us all good, and never any harm at all, neglecting in a manner the true adversary who hath utterly undon us. Is not this a piece of phrensy? What can one think it els, when any nips us behinde, to fly into the face and scratch him that innocently stands before us, our maister and only benefactor. But the *Protestant* seeing that outrage don unto him, by the *Puritan*, which he had don to *Catholicks* before, upon the very same motives, and with the like words and deeds, might fear perhaps that himself should now appear justly punished, and the *Catholick* at length be justified.

But let us see a little further, if our hot contesting combatants can find any rational *medium* to conclude demonstratively, or maintain infallibly, or know certainly any thing at all concerning points of Religion. If they cannot, they have som reason to be silent, none to quarrel; either one with another, or all of them against the Roman catholick.

The wayes and practis of a visible foregoing Church is concluded by a general consent of all, the *Catholick* onely excepted, to be erroneous; antiquity of former ages overwhelmed with *Egyptian* darknes; concilliary meetings of Bishops and pastours a conspiracy against purity of Gospel; and the Pope, who was anciently beleev'd sole judg and general pastour over all, a grand seducer. And now scripture, though it be wrested out of the hand of Papists, that something might be held by us which is plausible, must be not the truth only, but the sole judg of it too. This is it we all pretend to stand upon. Be it then admitted for truth,
who

who has the right meaning of it, the *Roman catholic*, who hath lived by it now above sixteen hundred years in all unanimity, or the *Protestant* who wresting it out of catholic hands about one hundred years ago, hath ever since, been contesting and quarrelling about it; not only with the catholic, but amongst themselves, even to this present day? The Gospel is no doubt a good and excellent rule; but if we for our own ends, to avoid the judgment of any tribunal upon earth, do constitute our selves, each one the sole speaking judg by that rule, we do thereby make our selves both judg and rule too. For it is all one, to arbitrate with a mans own words; or to do it with another bodys words, which he without controul will interpret. And thus excluding one judg, whom we found in actual possession of the chair, we set up a thousand, who will determine more rashly, and yet as resolutely as he; and we still further off from any final conclusion, than before. Do we not see this to be true, by the daily fresh uprise of so many several sects, which do all promote themselves by virtue of the same pretens. These twenty years last past, the zealots who preached so vehemently against our innocent good King all the land over, did they not all find a text in scripture for their purpos? and not only one text to preach upon, but hundred others to elucidate and confirm their doctrine: which notwithstanding all wise men knew, were not taken in their own genuin sens and meaning. And yet who could convince them of that, who had as much light within, and without too, as all Protestancy ever taught sufficient for judgment, even against him, who first sent us the scriptur, and was then found in actual possession of the chair: and a Protestant that should have gone about to confute them, must have denied the principles by which he was himself first constituted. Com, com, 'tis more than manifest by all our proceedings this hundred years, that our bitter invectives against the Pope who swayed Christianity, had no other end but only this, that we might all sway, and none of us be controuled.

I would

I would fain know, if I should deny the great fundamental upon which all religion is built; namely that the soul of man is an immortal substance, and distinct not only from the grosser tangible parts, but even from the very best and purest both animal and vital spirits, which without doubt be mortal; and that there is any other world for men to pass into, after this life of mutability; whether I could not sufficiently prove my negative out of scripture, making use of all the advantages of semisentences, parables, figures, stories, tropes, with as much reason, light and spirit, and as equal plausibility, as any sect deduces their tenets: and so another likewise, who should hold that heaven and the world to come, is nothing but a condition of serenity in this life; a fourth that there is no hell, angels, or devils, &c. Sith there is no tribunal to judge, who can outbrave any such defendant, when he faces his antagonist with the light of a text, which none but himself must understand.

Scripture must do all, by that light all walk, how many soever several gainsaying paths they tread. I will no further contest about the meaning of it; What is this Scripture? *It is Gods word.* But you had it not immediately from God, but found it in other mens hands, all whom from one series to another, till you come to the Pope, who first sent it us, we have all aforesaid concluded to be liars. So that you must take it then upon the credit of those, who by your own principles may as well deceive you, as you me. Can you tell who wrote that book? O yes, you name me presently twenty several persons, which you can no more prove to be authours of the books, than any thing contained in the writings; although their names may be there prefixed. Those persons at least, as they were men of several conditions, priests, kings, lawyers, poets, historians, fishermen, doctours, so did they live in several times and places of the world, and differ both in these things, and also in their very stile and manner of writing,

as much as any can do. A *Brachman* in *India* teacher of morallity two thousand years ago, *William* the conquerour King of *England* six hundred years ago dictatour of our law, and our *Sir Kenelm Digby* Knight and Philosopher, lately authour of a naturall Philolophy when he sojourned in *France*; do these three differ any more then *Saint John*, *Moses* and *Salomon*, either for time, place, condition, or stile of writing? I trow not. How then came all those with so much diversity of their own, to write the word of God more than these; and how they and no other? Who first gave them their authority? Or was it given, or only declared? And by what power and vertue could it be declared by any that knew them not, and lived so long after them? Or how can we take the declaration of such as we have now judged seducers. How com laws, poems, sermons, histories, letters, visions, so many severall conceptions in such diversity of composition to be dictated from one divine hand? And how do they conspire together in such variety of times, to make at length one volum of Faith? Who can resolve all this without a submission of belief. And yet too, they must not all be either of signification or validity, just as they lie and sound; but some in this manner, some in that. *Moses* law must not bind in its judicial or ceremonial part, which makes up in a manner all the whole Pentateuch, but only in the truth of story and morality. Some books must be taken according to the literal sense, and not in any mystical one; some in the mystery and not the letter; and som again according to both. What shall guide us in these things without our own resignation to some direction better than our selves. A parable must not be looked on as a story; nor yet morallised in all its parts, but only in the capital intention. No words must be culled forth, to prove any thing out of the road of his mind and purpos who spake them. No axioms of holy writ is to be taken by halves; nor yet in any sense was not thought of by the authour. An objection

objection is not to be proposed for a conclusion; nor any trope or metaphor perverted. All words must speak to the writers scope not against it; as he made them to do; who brought texts against veneration of Saints, out of S. Jo. *Chrysostoms* speeches made expressly in honour of them; and others against monarchy, drawn out of the book of *Kings*. And many such like cautions there be, I cannot now think of. What rule, if we be left to our selves, shall conduct us in all these uncertainties? The Catholick indeed has one, by which he passes on uniformly and quietly in the course of his religion, as the sun in the firmament without nois or trouble: but others jumble and juggle one against another like coaches in a street. *O the Scripture and truth therein contained will discover it self.* Does it not very fairly? whiles we are all of us together by the ears, not for the Bible, but with it. *You must beleeve.* What should I beleeve and why? I expect a perswasion to so beleeve, not a command; and to hear not that I must beleeve, but what; and not only what to credit, but why and wherfor. *O but you may discern in these writings the very marks of Gods hand appearing.* Though there be such marks, yet it seems by our many divisions, we cannot read of our selves, what those marks would have; or what Church and doctrine they would establish. And to whom can those marks appear to be Gods; but to them only; who have seen Gods hand aforetime, or stood by him when he wrote. *Porphirius* was as good a marksman and understanding Philosopher, as perhaps ever was; and yet he deserted Christianity & all the whole Bible, for want of the marks of divinity in it; as others for the same reason have at times rejected many particular books. I justify neither him nor them; but only speak thus much, to show how instable a thing man is, when he relies upon his own judgements. Have not we known wicked hypocrites to speak as fine words as any be in scripture, and by those their marks to deceive many? And I doubt

not but Antichrist, when he appears, will do so too.

But how came this book into *England*? For it was not it seems any part of it written here? It was brought hither, you will say, at the lands first conversion, all of it together in one volume. If this be true, as true indeed it is, then we had it from the *Roman Patriarch*, whether we speak of the conversion of English men or Britons. And shall I build my belief upon the authority of a book, if indeed it could make it out, sent us from him, whom our own ministers do publicly proclaim to be an Impostour and Antichrist? Or can I in reason so condemn him, and not suspect it? If he did not only present it us, but made his catholick beleivers with so much labour and industry to transcribe it all the world over, before printing was invented, as a sacred and venerable thing; a man might think in reason, there were something in it to favour him and his religion, which being once accepted under the notion of divine writings, men would not easily dare to contradict, and nothing at all against him. *O but the Pope did not make the book, nor any of his predecessors.* This is more, than either you or I can prove; sith that book, so much of it as belongs to Christianity, was never found in our countrey, but as taken and sent from him. And it is no hard matter to make a book for my own ends, and for its ampler authority to father it upon some renowned person, the better to promote my design. Truly such places as speak so plainly the Churches authority, the reall presence, absolution of sins by man, episcopal government, and the like Papal doctrine, are apt enough to suggest such thoughts. And some of our first reformers upon that very account, did shrewdly suspect, and were not afraid to say it, that the Pope had at least a finger in many such like places; which he might in their opinion easily do, when he had once overwhelmed the earth with his mists of error, and made people so credulous, that he might do what he pleased. And if I do indeed think the
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Pope to be Antichrist and a seducer, I cannot rationally believe or trust unto any book he sends me, more than I do to his doctrine which he says is there grounded; for I have indeed but his word for the authority of both. And let me once give a freedom to my thoughts, I shall as soon question one as the other; and if I do reject one, proceeding rationally I must cashier the other also. Surely the Pope cannot but smile, to see his Book, which is the ground and guide of the Catholick faith he delivered with it, to be made by the Protestant to speak protestantisme, presbyterianisme by the Presbyterian, anabaptisme by the Anabaptist, and quakerisme by the Quaker; even as doubtles it would be a sport to *Virgil*, if he were alive, to see his *Arma virumque* turned epithalamist by one, a prophetist by another, an evangelist by a third, whereas the poem it self intends none of these things, but onely the travels and wars of *Æneas*. And doubtles our Scripture it self, might be made by these tricks of wit, to speak forth the passions of Queen *Dido*. Without all doubt, it is a most high inconsequence, so passionately as we do, to blaspheme a bishop, who is and ever was acknowledged in the world for *Pope* or Father of Christianity, as the most wicked man alive, and a grand seducer; and yet to hugge a book in our bosomes, which we took at first upon his credit, as an oracle of truth; and then again first to fall out with him, and then with one another among our selves, about the meaning of that book, wherein his own catholick believers all the while unanimously agree, without any end pelting one another with texts and verses, unto the utter ruin of charity, not understanding for the most, either the uncertainty of our own reasonings, or the dangerous consequence of our wayes.

I will utter a bold word, but what I know to be true, both by experience and irrefragable reason. As the Gospel cannot prove any thing, being separated from the Church, and the living and speaking oracle of him that sent it, unto

whose judgment both defendant and disputant must submit; so neither without the help of that authority can it prove it self, either by any argument, which it uses none, or by vertue of miracle recorded in it. Sith those signs and wonders there related, are now as far from my knowledge, as be the truths of any doctrines to be ratified by them. So that I shall have as much ado to beleev them, as any piece of doctrine they may confirm; being all of them equally, either motives or objects of beleeve, as I pleas my self. It is all one to me that am born in these dayes, so long after those signs were wrought, to beleev the miracles by Gods incarnation, or Gods incarnation by the miracles. Since I may beleev both, but can evidently know neither of them to be true; so far as that I may use one of them as a *medium* to demonstrate the other. If the gospel laid before me should work of it self any strang wonder in my sight, then I might happily have some motiv to beleev it. But we in *England* inveigh bitterly against the present miracles, that are shown in the catholick Church, ascribing them all, if they be true, unto the operations of Satan. So that according to this way, I should not know what to think neither, if the Bible should do som strang thing before me, and as little conclude of the past miracles there recorded. Let us all pray God to give us humility, resignation, and faith. If renouncing our selves, we can once to possess these blessings, we shall then in all peace submit to the whole word and will of God, in that sence and unto that end it was first made known unto us, not using it now any more unto sinfull contentions, but unto our own sanctification and peace.

§. 13. *Appeal.*

AS it is impossible to be assured that the Bible is the word of God, if we condemn him, from whom it first came, of imposture: so is it certain, that upon that
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book wrested out of the hands of Catholicks against him and his who first presented it, we ground all the several wayes of Religion here in *England*, wherof each body and faction does so far presume, as to condemn all, who will not approve of them unto utter destruction. And yet, if we did but proceed like rational men, we could not but remain all of us in great humility and fear, upon these surmises. Does not the Pope pretend the spirit of Christ as well as we? Do not all Catholicks so? Had we not the Bible from them? Do they not ratiocinate out of it, and show their religion thence as well as we? Only they do it uniformly, we differently. And upon their principles they build up Church and State, we pull down all. Put case we were all at this instant in our ancient state of paganism; and a Priest or two should com to us from *Rome*, to convert us now, as then they did, to Christianity, with the Gospel in their hands, which they should tell us to be pure truth and Gods word, which we never heard before. If we should reject and disesteem them, as cheating seducers, could we rationally accept and beleev the book? Or would we not therefor cast into the fire that volum of theirs, wherein were contained the summe of all their mission and news, if we looked upon the men, that brought it, as impostours. Consider seriously, and think not to pull the snail out of her shell, and then to keep one apart; and crush the other, without which it cannot live. Church and Gospel were both born together, but the Church first, at least in a priority of nature; and must both liv together. Christ the head must be authorised before he could teach; and the Church must be established before any of her children could write a Gospel. Nor can they with authentick authority write any thing, but what the mother Church, constituted by her espous the treasury of all heavenly truths that earth can expect, shall set her seal unto. So that in any age to deny the Church, and to accept of her writings; to profess Christ, and condemn her that brought us the first

news of him, is at one and the same time to take her authority and reject it; to say she is fals, and yet true in the same affairs. The same gospel ratifies both Christ and his Church; the same Church both Christ and the gospel; the same Christ both gospel and Church too, which himself established. So then; reason, light, scriptur, power of interpretation, being equally to be found, at least pretended in all anticatholick wayes; and the Roman catholick although he have withal a surplussage of true and right authority, from the Church and her pastour whom he ever follows; yet since he never denied, but strongly and effectuously maintained, that he hath with him, as much of true interpretation, light and reason, as any can pretend; and so far more peculiar and excelling, as the judgement of the universal Church in all ages, from whence he drew that reason and light of his, is in matters of religion, that are not invented but derived, to be preferred before the conceit of any one person, who contrary to the very essence and nature of antient Christianity shall go out of the Church wherein he found himself; it may most manifestly appear, that as the *Catholick* hath all the right and preeminence that any other may pretend for himself, and yet a far greater too, even that authority which can onely constitute religion; so likewise all Anticatholicks both *Independent*, *Presbyterian* and *Protestant* have the same power and advantage each one against another, which any other may pretend against him; scripture, reason, interior light, and spirit; whiles none of them, will in the *interim* admit of any living judg, nor of the authority of a foregoing Church, wherein they found themselves, when they first went out and changed. And I have already said, and truly said, that no man ever yet was impowred even from heaven, to go out of the general flock, but to have recours unto it; nor, considering the order God hath set, ever can be. Nor is ther any surer rule of discerning a fals pretension than that of the Apostle, *Exierunt ex nobis*; which if it held good in the

the Church, when that Apostle was alive, it must needs do so unto all generations, so long as the Church remains, by virtue of him who promised to confirm it, wherein his deity must chiefly appear, even unto the consummation of the world. And if we consider the first ingress of all these religions, we shall find that the *Catholic faith* entered our land first, and chased hence our ancient paganism. After it had been here existent a thousand years, the *Protestant* went forth out of it; the *Puritan* by and by out of the *Protestant*, not to mention any further subdivision. And the catholic religion entered by virtue of her own powerfull integrity, all the others by force either of Parliament or Sword. That Church, as she entered peaceably, so she remained quietly all the time of her stay in the Kingdom; but the others neither stay nor enter without disturbance. She hath a rule to go by, and a judg to submit unto in all affairs; others as they will be their own judg, so must the rule speak as they list, and no otherwise: which manner of proceeding, if it have its free cours, must needs work much disorder in a kingdom.

I have often marvelled that these various wayes of religion here in England, which multiply without end, or any hope of reconciliation, have not all this while appealed to the sacred majesty of the *King*, who hath been acknowledged by all the parties, to be supreme in all his kingdomes, as well in spirituals as temporals, and head as well of Church as State. Certainly had this been don, and that all had rested upon his verdict, as they ought by reason of their own acknowledgment to do, much mischief had been prevented. But we were so far all of us from doing so, that on the contrary, first we secretly murmured against both *Q. Elizabeth* and *King James*, and then broke forth into open hostility against his son. Indeed that private swelling of the murmuring waters, were an ill boding omen of the vast tempest, which followed afterwards in the reign of our good *King Charles*; with so disinal and

violent a rage, that it both split the ship, and drowned our Pilot. We did not appeal then with submission to his judgment, as by our own law and agreement upon our revolt from Popery, we ought to have done, but forced him imperiously to our own. And when in right reason he could not consent, we made no conscience to destroy and cut off, not so much his head as our own: which being a singular unparallel'd piece of insolent cruelty, never yet acted before upon earth, it will remain an eternal blemish both upon the men and religion too, so long as the world lasteth. Did we sincerely think our King to be head as well of Church as of State? How then durst we subjugate him to our selves in the affairs of both; and under pretence of purity of religion oppress him, from whom under God all our religion should be derived, as the head and fount of it.

The body may prepare bloud and vital spirits, to be presented to the head; but of these are not made animal spirits, till the head receives and makes them such, for the good of the whole. And from the head run down all those influences, that be fitted and proportioned unto that life which the animal lives. So may and ought every kingdom, either apart, or in Parliament assemblies, to propose affairs unto their head, but can take none as authentick, till he have determined and derived them to us, whether civil or spiritual, if he be head of both, resting quiet within our selves both before and after he hath done it. For what hand or foot ever questioned the spirits which the head derived it; or pretended either to make or mend them. But we have by these our proceedings condemned our selves, if we do not indeed think him our spiritual head as we profess in words, of vile hypocrisie; if we do believe him so, of inconsequent madness. But to remove the Pope, the King is head with us, and to remove the King the people is head, and to remove one another each particular person is his own head. So arbitrary a thing it is with us, to set up, and pull down power at our pleasur.

It would seem very strange to a rational man, that the *Pope*, who is in our esteem the worst of men, should keep together the people of many kingdoms, which as they be not at all subject to him in civil affairs, so are they very divers among themselves, both in habits, manners, language, lawes, and other weighty respects and inclinations, in a constant unity of religion from age to age: and yet a noble vertuous prudent *King* should not be able to do so much among his own subjects all of one guarb, one law, one language, for so much as one age together. The *Pope* all the while we beleev to be a fals and onely pretended Head, the *King* an acknowledged and true one. This is a great secret: and yet greater too upon this account, that if any should fall away from the Popes religion, the apostate runs himself into no more danger upon that account, than what he willingly brings upon himself, the los of further communion with him and his Church. For the Popes excommunication signifies no more. And all the Pope can do, is but to excommunicate him, who before by his own voluntary act put himself out of his communion. But the *King* hath a temporal sword in his hand, to take corporal revenge upon rebellion and apostacy; and the people subject to him in faith, are likewise subject in other temporal respects, and by their rebellion against him hazzard their estates and lives.

I know well enough that Popes are generally as civil and accomplished gentlemen as be in Europe, and for the most part very learned; yet can I never believe, but that there be others in the Christian world, both priests, doctors, and byshops as learned as the *Pope* himself, and as wise too and accomplisht persons in any perfections either natural or moral. And yet can none but He, hit upon this feat of guiding the Christian flock in unity and peace. Nay, which yet augments the wonder, take any one kingdom under his spiritual jurisdiction, and they shall remain a hundred yea a thousand years, in all peace and unity

unity upon religions account. But let that kingdom once divide and separate from him; and presently all those very self-same byshops, who before in their subordination to the Pope, easily managed the peoples consciences, and kept them in a most orderly peaceableness, not know in their separation from him, which way to turn themselves, but that heresies and schisms will rise and augment themselves without end, in despite of all their power and endeavours, as if unity truth and peace were tied to the Popes chair. Those that understand not catholick religion, have stood many of them exceedingly amazed at this consideration; and not without cause. For whence can this happen? It is not because Popes are all saints, and only they. For the venerable and renowned priests under him, and great multitudes of people about him in all nations, which shine like stars in the firmament, may be without controul as good and holy, many of them as himself. And although Popes be for the most part very good, civil and discreet men; yet if it should happen, that some one be no better than he should, yet even that man shall be as zealous of unity in religion, and preserve it as exactly as the best; which exalts our wonderment, unto such a height, that we are even forced to acknowledge, that there is some great secret in his business not easily to be resolved. For all other byshops and princes, the more worldly and sensual they be, the less care have they of their flock and people. If we shall say, that these be the great powers of God upon him, the doubt is at an end; and a reason appears, why people do fear so much to be excluded his communion. If this be not admitted, I am at a loss, and can find no reason, why a good king and true head of his Church, if himself or the people can make him so, should not be able, by his acknowledged authority and sword, to keep his own subjects in unity of faith and peace, as well as a bad Pope, such as we believe them all to be, and pretended head, keeps together other mens subjects of different manners and languages,

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without sword or axe or corporal rods, only by the meere love of his communion and fear they have to lose it.

Nor can we say, that new opinions about religion are ever brought among Catholicks. For this as it cannot be expected amongst so many millions of great wits and spirits, that be amongst them up and down the world; so is it so far from being true, that all the heresies that have rise in Christianity were invented ever by some Catholick, I mean that had been formerly such, for his opposition and apostacy from his general Pastour, makes him cease to be catholick any longer, and generally by Priests, who preferring their own judgements before their pastours, and the tradition they had hitherto walked by, in the pride of their hearts led people after them out of the fold of the Church. And whoever does so, puts himself by his own authority in *locum Patri*, and is to be looked upon by all good Catholicks, who have care of their own salvation, as a dangerous guide. Thus did first begin our own Protestancy by *Martin Luther*, *Calvin*, and other fallen Priests. And the fall of murmuring *Judas* from the college of Apostles, of contesting *Adam* and *Eve* from the bliss of paradise, of dissenting *Lucifer* and his angels from heaven, who are said to dispute with *Michael* and his angels, as *Luther* did with *Eckius* and his fellow Catholicks, signifie nothing els.

But what does the Pape or Christian Pastour do in this case. When the tumult is once raised, and a disorder begun in any part of his flock, by some proud turbulent spirit amongst them, the Pape first whittles him and his fellow pernicious rams into order, by charitable admonition, which still encreases lowder by degrees. And if this will not serve, but that they will still be refractory, he casts in his shepherds crook amongst them, and divides the turbulent from the peaceful, and so the infection staves. The disquiet ones being driven out, depart in a rout together. But within a while they separate, and walk by sixes and sevens, and subdivide

divide at length so often, that at last they go single; whiles every sheep amongst them will be a ram, and every ram a shepherd. But the other quiet ones, that hear the voice of their shepherd, and follow him in peace as become sheep to do, enjoy all happiness and spiritual content amongst themselves, to the unspeakable comfort of their souls, under him whom Christ the great Messias hath set over them. And this is called the *Catholick Flock*, which for the love they bear to their honoured pastour & ~~univ~~, we commonly call *Papists*; and sometimes, because they will not forsake either their shepherd or divine pasture of truth and sacraments, wherein they have been brought up, when we would speak more civilly, we call them *Recusants*.

If any one shall think I speak too much in favour of catholic religion, let such know that I favour nothing but truth and peace. And it is the part of an ingenuous and well bred nature to support, what he can, the weaker side; especially if he know it to be innocent and injuriously oppressed, as it often happens in this world, that the stronger in right, may be the weaker in repute. Nor can any feud amongst us ever be ended, which is the thing I wim at, so long as errour and injustice are maintained. And altho we quarrel furiously one with another, yet considering that our strifes amongst our selves proceed upon the very same grounds and motives, we pretend all of us to have against the general adversary we all hate, till this capital dislike of Popery be diminished, our other feuds must needs be kept alive. No peace amongst our selves, till we revoke our words, and ill deeds against our innocent neighbours, and at last comply charitably with them, against whom our first dissention sprang up in this land. *Ephraim* is against *Manasses*, and *Manasses* against *Ephraim*, but both against *Juda*. And because they are both against *Juda* their lawful superiour, therefor are they so furiously bent against one another; whiles *Ephraim* to be in *Juda's* place, who is thrust out by both parties, labours to depreess *Manasses*,
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and *Manasses* for the same reason to trample upon *Ephraim*. So is *Presbyterian* against *Independent*, and *Independent* against *Presbyterian*, but both against the *Papist*. *Protestant* against *Puritan*, and *Puritan* against *Protestant*, but both against the *Catholick*. And as soon as the *Protestant* had by violence supplanted and cast his *Roman* neighbours out of all their dignities, honour and livelihood, the rancour had utterly ceased, had not the *Puritan* rose up out of the *Protestant* bowels, and subverted him by the same means he had used to his catholick foregoers. And when this was don, it had ceased again, had not *Presbyterian*, *Anabaptist*, and *Independent* sprung out of the *Puritan* disturbed one another, and all the land by the same stratagems.

Hot *Hasterig* and zealous *Vane* two grand Puritans, antient and mortal enemies both of them unto *Roman catholicks*, when at length they fell out and jarred in this last Rump Parliament, they did both in publick and private with the utmost rage imaginable object *Popery* to one another, which they judged both of them to be both the extremest vilification could be cast upon any one, and also most advantageous to him that objects it. Every mouth and book in the long Parliaments time, said no less of the Kings army wherwith he defended himself; that they were all *Papists* and *Popishly* affected. All the adherents of ... *Tectour Oliver*, after he had broken and shamefully dismiss the long Parliament, said the like of it. The friends of the dissolved long Parliament, which were a considerable part of the land, asserted the like of *Oliver* and his souldiers; and so did great store of good *Protestants*, otherwise grave men, say confidently, that the red coat souldiers were all *Jesuits* and *Papists*. And the same red coat souldiers both swinged and pillaged all the land upon the same account, laying *popery* to us all, and made us smart for it over and over, as if the very notion and name of *Popery* had even turned our brains, and made us all mad. If we do
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but hear any one say of his neighbor, that he is a *Papist* our blood rises presently against him whom we never saw; and if we know him one, we shall believ any evil that is spoken of him, be it never so incredible or even impossible; and are apt to imagin and speak it our selves in any place. A rational man would hardly beleeve, although it be very true, that some *English* men should report confidently even in *Rome* to the citizens there, that the Parliament men and judges, who murdered our good King here in *England*, were most of them papists; who indeed were all of them profest enemies to the *Papist* or *Catholick*, than to the King himself. So that the malice of *Poperie* once taken away, and as it expresses catholick religion it deserves none, we should not know in our religious feuds, what to object to one another for disparagement. It would seem a strange thing, if after all our wars and the mischiefs we have either done or intended one another, upon the account of *Poperie*, it should prov at last so good and sincere a religion, that we can never more truly commend our neighbor, than when we lay *Poperie* to his charge deservedly, nor ever act greater iniquity than when we persecute him upon that account. But indeed if *Poperie* be taken, as it is now conceived, for a fardle of iniquity, fraud and treachery; then will it least agree to them it is most put upon; and is indeed properly unto them who impute it upon others.

Hitherto I have endeavoured to take all men off, from any basis of private interpretation, reason, or light within themselves, whereupon they may raise a new religion, and wars and broils, to maintain it against the Church, out of which they fallied. And hereby the *Independent* loses his conceived advantage against the *Presbyterian*; the *Presbyterian* his against the *Protestant*; and the *Protestant* his against the *Roman Catholick*. What we are to fix upon, I have here and there intermingled, although very sparingly. And he told us it long ago, who said: If any will be my disciple, let him deny himself.

CHAP. IV.

All Religions who have opposition to the Catholick are equally innocent to one another, as likewise is the Roman religion truly innocent & unblamable to them all.

§. 14. *History of Religion.*

I Have proceeded hitherto with a kind of carefull negligence, as I may so call it, not lapping up my discourse with pithy argumentations and a formal order, but letting it flow loose and intermingled, that it may delight all, and withall profit any that will read seriously. But now, that these contents of my fourth chapter may connaturally appear unto the sight of every one. I will to refresh my readers appetite, a little leave even that method too: and that he may discern of himself without any further discourse of mine, both how all the several wayes of religion here in England are equally innocent; and withall that the Roman Catholick is absolutely unblameable, I will make a brief narration of the ingress and progress of Christianity in this land, unto these present times, and leav the concluding inference unto every mans own judgment. Truth needs not the help of art, and its very natural appearance is the best argument can be made for it. I know there be many eagle-sighted men, that are able to trace the proceedings of states, and policy, and religion from far, yet because generally men live at home, and see no further than the present, which suffices nothing at all for judgment in these our turbulent affairs, I must crave leave of those great heroes very briefly to run over that story, which although they do well enough know already, yet to the generality of Englishmen, whom in this my discourse I serv and labor for, is so utterly unknown, that they do not so much as dream of any such thing. In

In the thirty fifth year of our Lord when *Sulpitius Galba* and *Cornelius Sylla* were consuls, all the Christians in Jerusalem except only the Apostles, being disperst abroad upon that great persecution which cut off *St. Stephen*, the Church of God did spread and propagate upon that occasion in several countries, not only of Judea and Samaria, but Phœnicia, Cyprus, Antioch, Damascus, and round about beyond the borders of Palestine. At that time *Lazarus*, *Mary Magdalen*, *Martha* with *Marcella* her handmaid, *Maximin* a disciple, and *Joseph of Arimathea* that noble decurion, against whom the Jews were more vehemently incensed, were after much pillaging and many injurious affronts, put together into a ship without sail; in which notwithstanding by the conduct of that providence they worshipped, they arrived safe at last in *Marseilles* in *France*; where *Joseph of Arimathea* so far companion of the common danger with them, left them to divine protection; and is said, haply by means of some British merchant in those coasts, to have sailed thence into this our Isle of *Britanny*, where by the power of his word and holy life having converted many of our Brittons unto faith, he ended his dayes; the testimony of whose sanctity, that strange thorn of *Glassenbury abbey*, which grew green and flourished every Christmas day, remained even to our times. This story of a fact so long ago atchieved, although it be obscured by that vicissitude of time, which at length buries all things; yet it serves, so much as we have of it, to shew, that the religion he brought, was catholick; since the same antiquities that speak his arrival here, and his conversion of people, mention their erection of crosses, shrines, oratories, altars, monasteries, and the like things of catholick profession, don by him and the people he converted.

But partly by the great succeeding persecutions, raised by the Roman emperours against Christianity, partly by the unwearied endeavours of the Pagan Priests here in the land

land against it, about the time of *Marcus Aurelius* the Roman emperour and year of our Lord 190. there were but small remnants of it left in this island. Wherefor our noble *Brittish* King *Lucius* moved by the fame of that holy faith sent to *Eleutherius* then Bishop of *Rome*, to entreat, he would deslin into our countrey some of his special pastours to teach us his Christian faith. The Pope sent him two good priests, *Eugatius* and *Damian*, who arriving here with some few others, who were pleased to accompany them, made both the King himself and his Queen, and very many of his subjects Christian.

And this Christianity of the *Brittons* no man I think will doubt it to be catholick; since the whole profession of it, both while the *Brittons* lived in this land, and after that they were expelled by the Pagan *Saxes* into the mountains of *Wales*, doth clearly manifest it: if Priests living together in monasteries, some hundreds of them many times together, and exercising in Churches their priestly functions upon the real and mystical body of Christ, if praying before crucifixes, erecting of crosses, solemnizing of feasts, keeping of Lent, vigils and embers, honouring of Saints, making oblations and orisons for the dead, may, as it needs must, signifie so much. Nor can it be imagined, that Pope *Eleutherius* sent to us by his Priests any other religion than his own. And this is called *Englands* second conversion, as that by *Joseph* of *Arimathea* the first. And both of them equally to one and the same catholick faith and no other; which how ever now by a strange judgment of heaven it be for a time traduced, yet in primitive ages it was looked upon as a most sacred and blessed religion, and then persecuted by none, but such as were profest enemies to Christ himself; as I could shew at large; but I must make haste.

After two or three hundred years this Religion; all that while profest in the land, was again banished by the utter overthrow and flight of the *Brittons* professors of it; into

our *English* Alps in *Wales*, where Christian and Christianity lay hid together ; and the Pagan *Saxes* who had driven them out, equally hated both their faith and them. Wherefor about the year of our Lord 596. the time of Emperour *Mauritius*, Pope *Gregory* the great, of his own proper motion and good will towards us, destined unto the conversion of the *Saxes* or *Englishmen*, who being then Pagans had possessed themselves of all the *Brittish* Territories, *S. Austin* bishop and abbot, who with forty other Priests his companions all good children of blessed *S. Bennet*, preached here so powerfully, that upon one Christmas day he baptised more then ten thousand souls. For which good work of our conversion the Kingdom of *England* ever owned that good Pope, for their spiritual patron and apostle. And the children of *S. Bennet* are indeed our very fathers who first begat us in Christ, and regenerated our *English* nation to the life of future bliss.

This Christian religion brought in by *S. Austin*, the *Brittons* could not deny it to be conformable unto their own catholick faith received formerly from Pope *Eleutherius*, in all matter of doctrine ; although they were so transported with passion against the *Saxons* their ancient adversaries, that they would neither let their own Priests, who of they had more store then they had use of, go forth to their conversion ; nor yet forbear to disturb good *S. Austin* in his so pious a work. But such good Christians did our forefathers the *Saxons* after their conversion prove, that they yielded nothing to the ancient *Brittons* before them, yea rather exceeded them. So that all the land was stored by them with godly monasteries of *S. Bennets* order, brave cathedral Churches, fair colleges and libraries, manuscripts, crosses, shrines, oratories, sufficient and wholesome laws for all occasions, hospitals, corporations, and all that might be necessary either to our temporal or spiritual welfare. And all our people were wholly attentive to their devout contemplations of a life to come in Christ our great redeemer,

redeemer, Church and State being now most piously and prudently provided for, when *William the Conqueror* in the year of our Lord 1066. came in upon us from *France*, and conquered us.

• This valiant Captain finding our catholick Religion conformable to his own Christianity in *France*, although he abrogated much of our civil law, and used in temporal affairs too too much of violence, thereby to subjugate the land more perfectly to himself; yet he medled not at all with any alteration in religion, nor once excepted against it, but lived himself with the rest of his subjects both Saxons and Normans, and died contentedly therein, building of his own devotion some fair monasteries to *St. Bennet* before his death, wherein God might night and day be served and praised, for his souls greater expiation from that tincture and blood-shed it might have contracted in his wars and vehement proceedings with the Saxon nobility after his victory. And in this same catholick religion did both Norman and Saxon live peaceably together and without any the least disturbance upon that account, untill the end of King *Henry* the eighths reign, about five hundred years together after the Conquerors ingress into the land, the people offering daily their prayers and orisons before the altar and sacred crucifix, together with their priests and prelates all Roman catholicks, without any schisme or disturbance.

From whence we may note first, that all the three conversions of our kingdom, wherein we lived unanimously so long together, were all of them to one and the same catholick Roman faith: secondly that this faith as it represents Christ its divine sours in purity, which all men might see, if they would have but patience to examine it, so likewise both in unity and unchangeableness: as there is but one God and he immutable, so is there but one faith and it unchangeable. Thirdly that catholick religion is so far from being an enemy to

the State-politick, as some reformers to its disparagement would pretend, that it is the great founder and maintainer of it. Nor ever had this land, for so many hundred years it was catholick, upon the account of religion any disturbance at all: though for civil respects ther wanted not wars and broils, as histories recount. Whereas after the exile of that catholick belief in our land, from the period of King Henrics reign to these dayes, we have ever been either in actual disquiet or at least in fears; vulgar heads uncontrollable in their fancies, since they wer by the Reformation constituted in effect both judges and contrivers of controversies, ever raising som new fangled way or other to disturb, or at least to threaten and indanger our peace. And it is a thing of much wonder, that a nation such as England is, so wise and serious in all other things, so judicious and grave, should be perswaded by any mans words against the dictamen of their own reason, if they would but consult it, to beleev any such thing of this innocent faith, when they cannot but clearly see in all histories both our own and others, that amongst all the pretended wayes of Christianity, only Catholick religion both sets up and preserves the Crown, which giddy headed sects indanger. Som of our Protestant clergy tell us of a thousand I know not what dangers of the Pope, thereby to get the assistance of secular power to their own ends; but what is indeed the occasion? They know assuredly, that the Pope if he were once admitted, would both separate them from the secular life they lead, and bring into order their exorbitant opinions. And what harm if both these things were don? If we do but search antiquities, we shall find that none of our ecclesiastical benefices were given by princes and people to maintain a wife and children, but only for such single abstracted contemplative men, as had consecrated themselves and all their whole affections to God, to serv him in all singlenes of heart, in prayer and fasting and perfect charity, and in the sacrifice of the altar all the dayes of
they

their life, without any solicitude after this world ; as Priests of ancient Christianity did : not for women and children, unto whose generation against ecclesiastical custom and constitutions, our ministers give as much attendance as any secular man whatsoever, and beget children which after their death, unless they show in their lifetime more of worldly solicitude than their spiritual state permits, must lie upon the parish. And as for ordering our dissensions in points of faith, I should think not only the Pope, who would assuredly do it, but any whatsoever thing in the world, though it were but an owl in an ivy bush, should deserve thanks if he effected it. But I return to my story.

Not only the kingdoms of the continent, *Germany, Hungary, Italy, France, Spain* ; but all the Northern coasts and islands, *Denmark, Norway, England, Ireland*, and the isles about them were now in a full and quiet possession and profession of their catholick religion ; when upon a little occasion, heaven so willing it for some great sin or neglect of mankind, the whole scene was changed on the sodain ; and catholick faith in our Northern coasts, to the grief and amazement of all that were then alive, utterly abolished, even by the discontent of one person, and he but a private one neither, upon this occasion.

The Pastour of Christianity, upon some solicitation of Christian Princes for a general compliance throughout all Christendom to their design, sent forth in the year 1517. a plenary indulgence throughout the world in favour of the *Cruciata* against the Turk. *Albertus* bishop of *Mentz* delegated by the Pope to see it executed in *Germany*, committed the preaching and promulgation of it unto the *Dominican* friars : which the hermits of *S. Austin* within the same place took ill ; but especially *Martin Luther* a preacher and professour in that order, esteeming himself the best deserving man in the town, grew exceeding wroth that any should be chosen before himself, to execute that work which was like to have as great an auditory and con-

fluence of people as might happen in a mans life time, to the no small repute of him, who should be thought worthy before another to divulge the bull and make the exhortation sermon, in the behalf as it were of the whole Christian world. Vexed therfor that he was thus neglected and as he thought undervaliewed, not only by words, but books and papers secretly thrown about, he diminished first the *Dominicans*, then the Bishop, then Indulgences themselves. Catholick superiours and princes blamed this misdemeanour of *Luther* as a practis of much danger and sedition. But he grew not any thing better therby, but rather more head-strong and furious, as unlawful passion increases by the very means of mitigation; inveighing now with more boldnes, as far as he durst, both against Prince and Pre-late too. Insomuch that the Duke of *Saxony* after a year or two invited friar *Luther* to his Court, where by dispute and colloquy with the eminent doctor *Eckius*, if he could not make his caus good, he might grow better principled, at least for Gods sake and his own good condescend to moderation and peace. But *Luther* after much tiresom talk told at last very boldly both the Duke and his doctour too, that *the quarrel was not begun for God, nor for God should it be ended*. And so departing thence, he proceeded now with more virulent words to incens the people; unto whom he promised liberty from their vows and fastings and other penitential observances; whereby he perverted much of the laity, clergy, and religious people both men and women, who, 'tis strange to consider it, violating their vowes deserted that Catholick Church, besides which they had never known nor heard of other, to follow the serpentine enticements of one private person; and he, if not the worst, yet at least none of the best that ever were.

Thus when one ram has leapt over a hedge, all the other poor sheep, so many as be within ken of the fact, are apt to follow. So prone is man to go astray like a sheep, and

do amiss to our own ruin, without any other reason for it, than the sight of a president acting before us, what our own natural inclination is apt of it self, without the curb of religion or law, of its own natur to embrace. And so much as the world disposed at that ill hour to a dissolute loofnes, that *Luther* was still gaining upon people even from his first apostacy. But when he had once married himself unto *Catherine Bore* a Nun by him seduced out of the Monastery of *Mymick*, contrary to both their vows; so that he was now become a sure & fast enemy as well to continence, as before he had shown himself to abstinence; 'tis wonder how fast they flocked to him on all sides, not only from the vulgar laicity, but even from all institutes and profession and countries, even the priests and votaries of chastity, *Oecolampadius* a Monk of S. Bridget, *Jacobus Propositi* an Augustine, *Andreas Carolstadius* an archdeacon in Wittenberg, *Suinglius* a cannon of Constance, *Martin Bucer* a Dominican fryar, *Lismania* a Franciscan, *Richerius* a Carmelite, *John Calvin* a curate priest: *Philip Melancthon* out of Germany, *Michael Servetus* out of Spain, *Bernardin Ochyn* and *Peter Martyr* out of Florence, *John Alasco* out of Poland, *Sebastin Castelio* out of France, *Beza* out of Burgundy, *Stancar* and *Valentine Gentile* out of Italy, *Blandrate*, *Alciate* and *David Georg* out of Transylvania, &c. who being all hitherto Catholicks took occasion now by the example of *Luther* to fall away; whereby as the body of holy Church was purged of some unquiet spirits, so was *Luthers* retinue in a short space hugely augmented. Insomuch that this new Clergy made up of fallen priests and votaries, fell to writing stisly against their ecclesiastical pastour, and the laicity drew themselves into bodies against their temporal superiours in every place, those in *Germany* against the Emperour, those in *Holland* against their King, they in *France* against theirs. Nay the contagion flew so swiftly about Europe like wild fire in dry stubble, that eie King *Philip* could

get into *Spain*, his subjects there were corrupted many of them, and hissing hot unto battle. But he was a wise prince and well understood the unquiet genius of heresie, and therfor took a speedy cours with som for an ensample and terrour to the rest, and so preserved his kingdom. But the wars in *France* were long and dangerous, those of *Germany* and *Holland* hardly yet ended.

It was almost twelve years before this strange confluence of people could agree together by what name to be owned, till a chance gave it them thus. There was congregated, for the catholick Churches peace, a solemn Diet at *Spire* in *Germany*? against which and the articles there agreed upon, *Luthers* new troop made a joint unanimous *Protestation*, appealing from the Diet to the Emperour, although their after comportment shewed that they did indeed no more respect the Emperour than his Diet, upon which general and hearty *Protestation* of their own, they were pleased ever after to call one another *Protestants*. Yet sooner than they had well agreed in the name, they so much disagreed in doctrine, that they did not only set up several wayes and sects amongst themselves; but inveighed and wrote bitterly one against another, even with more virulency than they had aforetime used against the Church in the beginning of their discession. Ambitious heads, as all of them were, emulating each one as great a name and fame as *Luther* had, whom they both equalled in renown and place, whilst they all remained priests in the catholick Church, and now separated enjoyed as great fulnes of the spirit as himself. And now ther was up and down amongst the Protestants, here *Oslanders* church, there *Stancars*, there *Melancthons*, here a body of rigid *Lutherans*, there soft ones, here *Calvinists* enemies to both: here *Illyrians*, the *e Valentine* gentilists: here *Plenilutherans*, there *Semilutherans*, there *Antilutherans*: here the disciples of *O colampadius*, there of *Suinglius*, &c. all which did so eagerly quarrel about the matters of Reformation,

mation, that a sober man could not have the patience, either to hear their sermons or read their books.

Since that first division of *Luther*, which is now somewhat above a hundred years, there have been several times both in *Germany* and other places, many great meetings by Protestant divines of all sorts and sides, to bring all parties to an union. But it could never be effected to this day: which is a shrewd sign, as *Luther* spake ingenuously before the Duke of *Saxony*, that the concertation was not begun for God, nor yet for God shall ever be ended. An ambition that they have by their very discession and novelties to advance their name and worldly contents, being so opposite as it is unto yielding or submission to anothers judgment, will both make schisms, and maintain them without controul. Nor can it be expected he should yield to his fellow servant or condisciple, who contemns the maister and doctour and chief pastour of Christianity.

Into our Kingdom of *England* this new invented protestancy had found access exceeding difficil, if not altogether impossible; all our Kings even from the Conquerour to that day being ever most vigilant, that no innovation should arise to the endangering, as those wise princes apprehended, not only the spiritual but politick state, under what ever pretens it should begin; and the whole land carrying throughout the world so eminent a renown both for their piety and learning and zealous long continued affection to the catholick religion above all other nations; when an odde accident set the doois wider open here, than either in *Germany*, *France* or *Netherlands*, for its more free and copious ingress: and it was this. King *Henry* the eight a valorous and noble prince, who had also set forth a book against *Luther* and his new coined protestancy, for which zealous and Christian act of his the Pope conferred upon him the title of *Defensor fidei*, wherein our Kings glory to this day, even this so great a prince stood at that time so vehemently affected unto one of his subjects *Anne*

Bullen,

Bullen, that for her he ran himself into a hundred troubles, and his whole Kingdom into irreparable miseries. To the end he might marry with her, he endeavoured a divorce from his good wife *Queen Catharin*, with whom he had lived honourably and peaceably twenty years together; which with most earnest importunity for six whole years together when he could not obtain of the *Pope*, he renounced him; and by the insinuation of some *Lutherans*, who by this time had crept into the land, he made himself Pope and head of the Church within the territories of *England*. And so he dispensed with himself, and made that divorce by his own authority which the Pope could not do with his, and married *Anne*: whom a while after by the same authority he divorced again, and cut off as King and Pope, both *Anne* from his bed and *Annes* head from her shoulders.

Upon this strang act of the Kings declaring himself head of the Church never before known or heard of since Christianity first entered *England*, for though Kings were ever honoured as nursing fathers of the Church, yet head of influence to this mystical body of Christ is onely *Jesus* himself, and head of spiritual government under him, only that person who first begot us in Christ, and in whom all the sacred hierarchy ends, I say upon that strang act of his both King *Henry* and his whole kingdom was overthrown at one blow, and laid prostrate under the feet of those men whom he had so gloriously triumphed of late, and obtained thereby to the no small ornament of his crown the addition of a new title. For now came flocking in out of *Germany*, *Geneva*, and the *Netherlands* whole swarms of Reformers, as thick as grasshoppers; by whom in a small time, the Kings countenance being now set against Catholics, who could never be brought to like of his divorce, the land was so universally corrupted, defaced and spoiled, that within few years all the goodly monasteries, nunneries, abbeys and their Churches were utterly dispeopled, pillaged,

pillaged and ruined : and thousands of people of both sexes, a sad sight to be hold , who had served God night and day in those their angelical retirements , cast forth into the wide world to begin a secular worldly life, many of them in their feeble old age, when all their whole livelihood was taken from them.

The prey indeed was very great , but it proved *aurum Tufanum* , neither King nor people was ever the richer for it ; general granaries , as the monasteries then were, making provision for all children to be born in the land, which was infinite eas both for rich and poor, even unto all eternity ; but these once pillaged and destroyed, vanishing in particular mens hands like water through the fingers, wherof nothing at all considerable is kept. Nay he that was before the richest and noblest King in *Europe* , after this vast spoil which a man would think were enough to set up any Prince that was never so low , became so very poor before his death, that he was forced to make adulterate and leather-coin to supply his wants: and of all the great families that were enriched with that spoil, there is not one in twenty that keeps up his head at this day.

Queen *Mary* stopped this torrent for a while. But it burst forth again in Queen *Elizabeths* reign, who also found it so impetuous , that she with all her subtle counsel could not tell how to wield or rule a people of so many heads and factions, as had then flown together in the land out of several nations , and endeavoured to perswade the people every one to their own way of Reformation , as the onely pure one. Yet the Queen notwithstanding , being declared illegitimate in her fathers dayes, thought it safer, all things considered , to leave off her ancient religion in which she had by catholick byshops received the Crown, than to disgust the resolute Protestants. All the difficulty was how to content even them , being so severally biassed that no one thing could do it. French Protestants the *Calvinists* and *Suinglians* , were more in number ; but
German

German Protestants of greater repute. And both these and those so subdivided into parties, as ther appeared no hopes to pleas any one without the offences of all the rest. She concluded therfor, by the advice of her counsel, which saw a necessity of it, to recall episcopacy which had been now some years banished, by whose awe and power the rabble might be brought to some order. And because the catholick byshops, who were now all of them, so many as remained alive, imprisoned, would not be induced either by promis or threats to ordain her any, and Protestant byshops ther were none upon earth, she appointed her own Divines by her authority and power to create one another; which kind of ordination, though it were not only ridiculous to Catholicks, but hatefull also to the greater part of Protestants, who in all their reformations that wer ever yet made, joyntly execrated episcopacy as the main badge of Popery; yet the Queen provided by an Act, that none, upon pain of her displeasure and further penalties, should laugh at it.

Thus was settled an English Protestant Church, neither according to *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Calvin*, or any of those first Protestant teachers, much less the Roman catholick; and yet too apart of every thing, as it were on purpos to pleas all, at least to stop their mouths. The name of *Protestants* we assumed from *Luther*, as the most ancient and honourable of the reformation, the doctrin for the most part from *Calvin* as most pure; and our episcopacy in imitation of the *Catholick*, as most safe: and so we were neither one nor the other, and yet in some sence all. We pulled down aitar which *Luther* kept up, and set up episcopacy which *Luther* pulled down. We joined with *Calvin* in his doctrin, but not his government; we joined with *Catholicks* in their form of government, but not in their doctrin. We cast off the Priests *Albe* and *vestment* to pleas *Calvinists*: we kept the *Cope* and *surplice* to comply with *Luther*; and a sacrament or two in condescension

tion to the *Catholick*, who delivered them with the addition of more. Our ministers mourned in black, to imitate the *Papist* priests that were then only in repute; and yet they did it with a wife in their hand, that *Luther* might not take exception; whether the wife were virgin or widdow, to satisfy *Calvin*, who without scruple of irregularity married a tailors widdow. For *Luthers* sake we defied the Pope; for *Calvins* satisfaction we bore our selves towards the King, as if he were little concerned in spiritual affairs; and yet to affront the *Catholicks* we called him head of our Church. We preached the word, because *Catholicks* amongst other things used to do it; we made no sacrifice, because *Calvin* abhorred it; and yet we kneeled in communion, because *Luther* liked it. The mass we cashiered to satisfy *Calvin*; for *Luthers* sake we drew a compendious Common-prayer book out of it and the breviary; and to content the *Catholicks* we kept all the gospel entire. The real presence with *Calvin* we cried down; yet we kept an altar-table covered with linnen in some compliance to *Luther*; and we bowed our knee as we past by, though it were a meer naked board, in imitation of *Catholicks*, who used to do so to their inshrined Messias. We kept up the pulpit, that *Catholicks* who built them, might not except against us for pulling down all; we removed the altar-table to please *Calvin*; and instead of the crucifix upon the rood loft, we placed a naked unicorn, to content *Luther* and *Catharin Bore*. To affront *Catholicks* we preached down good works and charity; we cried up faith for *Luthers* sake; and hope, because we could not see how it could stand with *Calvins* certainty of salvation, we left to his disposal, &c.

I cannot see why a wise counsel and Parliament may not with as much authority form a Church both for doctrine and government, as either *Luther* or *Calvin*. Their judgment are more in number, more versed in weighty affairs, more clear and free from that passion which transported those

those good birds to their reformation. And this mixture of things by the discretion of so many grave men, if a Church as well as other policies be of human institution, is so far from derogating, that it augments the splendour. I am sure this Church of ours marched forward with a very handsom show and some tranquillity of progress, even untill the reign of our good King *Charles* the first, when it was with a violent wild rage miserably defaced. In all which time of its flourish the distressed Catholick was with all exact care persecuted all the land over, both in their livelihood and dignities, and liberty, and sometimes life too; although their imprisonments and loss of their estates did not so much afflict them, as two other vexations, the one to their fame, the other to conscience, both of them unto good and upright men almost insupportable. For the press and pulpit were ever sweating out something against the honour of Roman Catholicks, which hath rendered them at length as black; as ingenious calumny can make them. The conscience torture was a double edged Oath, drawn on purpos to entangle those catholicks, whom threats, punishment, or promises could not move to desert their former way of faith. And it could not but take; for going under the specious name of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and withall implicately involving, as the letter founded, an abnegation of antient Christianity, it would, if they refused them, render Catholicks extremely odious to their neighbours, and perjured, if they took them. And here I cannot but commend the conscientiousnes of Pagan Emperours our ancient persecutors, who though they ceased not to deprive the poor Christians of their dignities, state and lives; yet did they never offer them an oath concerning religion, which they knew beforehand to be against the articles of their belief; those great heroes knowing full well, that asperjury is a deviation from the right reason of humanity, so can it be no other to drive any one upon it. Nay Emperour *Julian*, surnamed Apostate;

But, openly protested in one of his epistles, that he would have no manner of violence offered to the conscience of the *Galileans*: ἵνα μὴ κινῶμεν τοὺς γαλιλαίους ἀπὸ οὗτο σφόδρῃ ἐν φιλαφρονείῃ, ὥστε μηδὲν μηδὲν βίαν ὑπομένειν, μηδὲ τίς ἰσχυρὸς ᾄδει, μηδὲ τίς αὐτὸν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιβάλλει πρὸς τὴν εὐαγγέλιον ἀκούσιν. I know that to pacify the *Puritans*, who excepted as highly as any *Catholick* against them, although upon other grounds, the Oaths were by royal interpretation both of *Queen Elizabeth* and *King James* much mollified, but that their exposition was private, incompleat, and unknown to *Catholicks*, and which the words as they sounded, would hardly and very hardly bear.

However *catholicks* as they did ever offer themselves to take any oath of allegiance which were purely such, and involved not an abnegation of their ancient Christianity; so likewise have they ever shewed in deed and fact, that they would keep the allegiance, tho they took not the oath, whereas others took the oath, and broke the allegiance. And which of these two is most honest and Christian like our *B. Saviour* has in the like case long ago decided. *A certain man, said he, had two sons, and coming to the former he said, son go to day and work in my vineyard, and he answering said, I will not, but after repenting himself he did it. Now coming to the other he said in the like manner, but he answering said, I go my Lord: and went not. Which of the two did the will of his father. They said unto him, the first: Jesus said unto them; Amen, I say unto you that publicans and harlots shall go before you into the kingdom of God.* The reason of this application is, because the *Jew* had entered an oath or covenant with God, but did contrary; the publicans took no such oath, but yet when time served, fulfilled it.

But whiles we thus armed our selves against the *Roman catholicks*, the disgusted part of *Protestants*, who deeply disliked this new *Episcopacy*, whereby they might be as much curbed as by the *Catholick* one before, did multiply
again;

again; and were oftentimes ready to make head both in the dayes of *Queen Elizabeth* and *King James*. In so much that the bishops and state were often in great perplexity, and utterly to seek what they were best to do. If they should favour the Puritan, so the antiepiscolal Protestant began then to be called, or let them alone, they would increase unto publick danger; if they should resist them, as it could not be done without scandal and hazzard, so neither could they tell how plausibly to effect it, either by word or sword. For this, there was no sufficient colour; for that no reason. Sith they did but only press home the first principles of reformation; which if they were fals, by what right was the *Roman* catholick so persecuted and undone; if true, why should *English* protestant-episcopacy against those principles be permitted to stand.

Yet at length our state concluded, still publickly to persecute the Catholick, thereby to give some little content to the Puritan; and privately with all vigilant care to suppress the Puritan, thereby to be more enabled to maintain our selves against the Catholick, whose state and dignities we had entered upon. And our *English* bishops they chose rather to side with their younger foe the *Puritan*, than with the *Catholick* their elder antagonist; becaus unto him in so doing they might seem free benefactors, to the other but just restorers of their due. Besides the novel levity of the *Puritan* could not, if it were a little countenanced or connived at, in any probability do so much prejudice to our prelate-protestant, as would the ancient renown of Catholicks, if the religion should com again into favour with that land, that had not yet utterly forgot its former glory. And although the danger to protestancy might be equal on both sides if the power were alike, yet the Catholick might with a more uncontrollable justice enter upon his own means and dignities, of which he had been deprived by violence, than could the *Puritan* invade anothers, which yet he never had. Although the *Puritan*, he might pretend indeed

as much right to undermine the new established protestant-episcopacy, as protestants the ancient catholick faith and clergy; which although in truth it signified no right at all, yet *ad hominem* it was good enough: and the puritan if he did it must be justified, or the protestant, if he judged him, must condemn himself.

In the interim these waters of puritanisme increased and swelled so high, that about fourscore years after this our english Reformation, they brake out into effect in the reign of good King *Charles* the first and overflowed all. And the terror of these twenty years civil wars, wherein the edge of the sword bore all down before it, is not yet out of our minds. Whence we may see how vain the policies & consultations of men sometimes be. God sits in heaven and laughs at them. Our favouring of the puritan, which we chose for our safety, when we studied the Catholicks overthrow, hath brought upon us a speedy ruin. And yet we are still but where we were, and in the like fears of that generation which knows not the things of peace; whereas the grave and sober Catholick, if he had been countenanced, had by this time much innobled and strengthened the kingdom, and reduced it to the former splendour it had in ancient times, when his religion flourished in the land.

As soon as the *Puritan* had got the victory, and overthrown both our ecclesiastical and civil state, he fell himself into many subdivisions of *Presbyterian*, *Anabaptist*, and *Quaker*, which struggled and contested one with another, not only in pulpits towns and cities of the land, but in our parliaments too, those very parliaments that had overthrown popery, as they called it, namely our protestant religion and monarchy, with the few Roman catholicks that were in the land, when they had once subdued all to their will. And how zealously every one of these canonises his own way to the disparagement of all others: what biting books and sermons are darted forth by this latter progeny against one another, as well as against the

Papist and Protestant, is so evident I need not speak it. The *Puritan* seems now to have yielded up his place and title, this his great battel being ended, unto the new and later off-spring of *Presbyterian* and *Independent*; who are now grown old enough to begin a new battle, and fight, if they want a common adversary, with one another. For all the brood is able and strong enough at ten years old to go forth to battle, which will still be renewed so long as heresies are suffered to sport and spawn. They onely stay so long, that their number may sufficiently increas. For, as for every individual person, he is furnished strong enough in his very first being to skirmish, and comes forth even out of the womb with an alarm and open defiance; as the progeny, that rose out of Cadmus his serpents teeth that were sown in the earth, came up all of them with nodding crests and shaking spears, and as soon as they got their foot above ground fell a fighting.

And this is the state of things in our kingdome, when lo most happily returns our glorious Sun to dissipate these mists King *Charles* the second to his own home, after his too too long absence and retirement from the hands of our violent rage; whom God inspire and strengthen that he may be able, if possibly it may be, according to his own hearts desire to pacifie, quiet, and content us all. But this I am sure can never be done, had he ten times the wisdom of *Salomon*, and the excellency of all the worthies of the world couched up together in his princely breast, whiles we desire contradictory things, & will not rest if we have them not; nor yet will submit unto his authority & reason, who studies only our good, and makes use of all the wisdom in the land to effect it. Let ther be but only two men, whereof the one will have serene weather, the other rain in one and the same time and place, and I do not see how God himself, except he change their minds, can pleas them both.

By this narration we may see when these divisions about religion came first into England, what fruits they have had,
how

how they have grown and increased, and what to judge of books and sermons, that cast so much *odium* upon another. It is very brief indeed, considering the amplitude of the matter, but I only intended to set it before my countrymen, as a small plate of anchovies or cavearr, to sharpen the appetite unto a further inquest after truth, which all these several wayes pretend to exhibit.

And if my reader be cautious, he may easily discern a reason, why all these sects are so boisterous one against another; and every one of them against the *Roman* catholic. *Ismael* disturbed the whole house, and was ever quarrelling and bustling against *Isaac*. The reason is the same both here and there: *Ismael* was a natural son, and *Isaac* the legitimate heir; and natural sons be generally seditious, violent and clamorous. As *Ismael* therefor was *Isaac* his natural brother, so is a protestant minister but the by-blow of a catholic priest: the Presbyterian a such like thing to him; and so forward, till you come to the Quaker, who was begot by a delusion and brought into the world by a fright. His hand is against every man, and every mans hand against him. The remedy and only means of peace is *Ejice ancillam cum puero suo*. Mustling contention is a property, rather of a reprobate, than of the elect.

§. 15. *Discovery.*

IT may, by what I have said, without any further argumentation appear sufficiently, that all anticatholick wayes are equally innocent. But it will not yet be so clearly acknowledged, that the catholic also is absolutely unblamable, except I wipe off some few spots and blemishes which we conceive all of us to be in that religion, especially the vulgar gross ones about Infallibility, Real presence, Confession, Indulgence, Mass, Images, Service in the latin tongue, Communion in one kind, Saints, Praying for the dead, and the respect and dignity of him we all hate; the

Pope. When I have don this, I shall then I hope have set the ballance pretty straight, and made popery appear equally as plausible, innocent and unblamable as any protestancy is. These few prejudices once removed, the light of a right understanding will easily spring up, by virtue of what I have said already, and what thence will offer it self to every unprejudiced eye and judgment in the land. This, that I may effect with more delight to my reader; I will mix it with the occasion of the knowledg I have got of popery, being my self neither born in a popish land nor popish family.

About six or seven years old, I began both by the speech & gestur of my parents to understand the story of their misfortune, which had happened it seems by the popery of my grandfather, who losing for it both estate and life, my father then a young stripling affrighted thereat, betook himself to flight, not staying till he came to the borders of *Nortingham* and *Leicestershire*, where he ended his days. I could not even then but weep oftentimes to see him sigh so frequent and deeply, which yet he seemed to do in great fear and secrecy, as I even then discerned; nor did I ever speak of it all my life, till now after forty years that I find my self pass either hopes or fear of any thing in this world. But I could not tell all the while of my youth, whether I should be angry at *Popery*, or those that persecuted it. Although I remember I had some tender respect for it, when I heard him say, *People were better in Popery than we be now.* Yet still he added with it a sigh in the close, *I know not what to think of it.*

But by this means I contracted a kind of habitual resolve, to find out, if I lived, what this *Popery* might be; which although troubles of school and childish sports covered for some years, yet at length it came upon me again so fresh and vigorous, that it ever and anon occurred unto me. About eighteen years of age I lived in the University of *Cambridg*, where being one time desirous to ask of my good

good Tutor the statutes of the house, one of my fellow pupils wished me not to do it, for that he had already told him, that none were to look upon them but only the seniors, and that it was expulsion for any els to read them; becaus ther was in them much of *Poperie* about confession, mass, praying at altars, for the souls of the deceased founders and benefactors of the colledg: unto all which I replied not a word. The greatest benefit I got in the University, was in looking over the heads and general contents of the many great volumes I there met with, in several fair libraries. For though I was not able then, any further to manage or make use of them; yet they stood me in stead afterwards, when reflecting upon what I had there seen, I discerned, that all those great volumes of learning were, so many as were Christian, either *Latin* or *Greek*, all catholic writers.

After two years, wherein I had learned some few terms of logick out of *Smith* and *John Saton*, I left the University, and came up to *London*; where I met with Churches and sermons good store. Therin I observed three things I could not tell what to think of. First; that both in the Churches of the citie and University and countrey, whatever the text might be, still Pope and popery was brought in. Secondly, that never any good thing was said of it, but all evil. Thirdly, that contradictory opinions and practises were generally put upon that way. And yet our ministers, who could not but see it, did not so much as regard it at all; but equally flourished all of them, in whatever they said against it, without the dislike or check of any, or so much as the exception of him, who had spoke of it aforetime, even contrary things in the same place.

If *Poperie* thought I, be so bad, let it passe. What a Gods name should we talk so much of a thing, that is past and gone, and buried with my grandfather; and no man sees or is like to be troubled with it any more. How coms this now so frequent in all places about a poor business, as if it

were don by design of defamation. Are our ministers afraid we should turn Papists, who know not, but by their report, what *Papist* means; nor can no more understand what they be, than we can tell what complexion *Julius Caesar* was of. We know this way is every where spoken against, and much evil is said of it. But that has been don afore now to the best things; and a general decrying defamation seems rather a conspiracy of interest than any deserved reproach. And to what purpos, since it is dead and gon, should we speak of it at all: much less evil, and so much evil too. We ought to speak well of the dead, at least not ill; for dead men do not bite, and ghosts fright none but babes. And to speak ill of another, as it argues a fear we have they may be able to hurt us, and a desire by our defamation to disable them from so doing, so doth it fill our hearts with rancour, which, if the party be dead, is wholly useless.

But it is a strang thing, that popery, or any religion upon earth, should be such a fardell of trumpery sin and villany, without any good at all in it. Such a thing one would think were impossible to be found. And it is yet more strang, that noble persons should voluntarily lose their estates, honours, dignities in court, and esteem among their neighbours, who were it not for that obstacle would dearly love them, and sometimes their lives too, for a thing hath no goodnes at all in it. The old Pagan religion contained in it many good things, but this Popery is a *casu de Judas*, all stench and rottennes. For our ministers and the word of God must be beleaved.

And yet again; let Popery be what it will, if it signifie any one religion, it is the strangest thing in the world: it should be evil in both extrems, that be contradictory and exclude one another. Ministers speak ill of it, that may easily pass: and the highest ill, I cannot gainsay it: yea, and nothing but ill; they may have a reason for it. But contradictory ills, and so many of them, and so tangible apparent

apparent ones, it is a wonder of wonders that one and the same faith and profession should be able to exhibite. And yet I have never heard, let a minister say what he will against popery, that the byshop ever calls him to an account for it; as it is don in other things even of less importance: in so much that *Prynnes* book against stage-plays is now questioned. Against *Popery*, and only *Popery* all goes currant. No man if he speak but ill enough, can speak amiss of it: and only here two evil extreames are not opposit.

One minister tells us, that the Papists worship stocks and stones, to which they are superstitiously addicted night and day; another, that all their religion is to worship a piece of bread. One, that their consciences are so dily tortured and affrighted with the fire of purgatory and doomsday & penances for their sins, that they never have quiet life: another, that they carry their top and top gallant so high, that they will go to heaven without Christ, and get eternal glory of themselves, without any god-amerity to him. One, that murders, adulteries, lies, blasphemies, and all sin make up the bulk of popery; another, that papists are so wholly given to good works, that they place in them excessive confidence. One, that the Pope himself and all his papists, fall down to pictures, and commit idolatry with them; another, that the Pope is so far from falling down to any thing, that he exalts himself above all that is called God; and is very Antichrist himself. He that hates and would destroy my person, will not surely worship my picture or teach others to do it. One, that they wallow without any conscience or fear of God in their excesses; another, that they nothing but torture their carcasses with disciplines and fastings, as if men could not go to heaven in a whole skin. One, that in respect of chastity they villifie matrimony, which the apostle calls honourable; another that by a superesteem of their own, they make matrimony a sacrament, thereby equalling it with baptism. One, that the ignorance of papist priests

is so gross and palpable, that generally they can hardly read latin; another, that the little ones which profess the gospel, had by their simplicity prevailed over all the vast learning of the subtil popish clergy. One, that popery began in the twelfth age of the Church; another in the ninth; another in the sixth; another in the fourth; another in the primitive times of the apostles. I cannot now call to mind the numberles contradictories I observed put upon the papists. Nor could I ever determin of my grand Sires religion by such reports.

Wherefor after a year or two, I put my self to travel, all alone and solitary, to make my long intended discovery. Humanly speaking, it was rashly done of me, and I several times thought so, when I met afterwards with troubles I did not then foresee, that were even ready to sink me. For in all my sufferings which were many and frequent, I could not but think of my dear friends, whose weeping tears in that my humour I had neglected. I believ to this hour, that something went before me to provide my entertainment, and provoke people against me for coming to spy the land. For, as soon as I set my foot on the other shore, and ever since, afflictions have still accompanied me. Nor yet was I ever so much offended with any mans abuse, as therfor to think ill of the religion, which I knew him to transgress. It is not to be expected that all the men of a kingdom should equally imbibe the religion of the place. It may well be pardoned, if only one in four follow pure sensual natur, as they received it from the womb, even amongst the best professions. Religion is superadded to nature as salt, and is several wayes imbibed by men. Som drink it in as water; and with a little labour are quite concorporated with it, and make as it were one body with the spirit thereof. Such were the glorious saints in the Church. Som take it in as powdered beef or other flesh, unto a perfect seasoning: yet so, as that still the flesh is more, and hath the denonation. These are upright

upright good men, preserved by the power of their religion from putrefaction and unsavoriness, although they be men still, upright men. Some take it in as clay, in a less degree and more imperfect mixture; but yet they shew it in their lives and conversation: for it keeps them together, and if in one action they miss of grace, in another they recover it. But some again in the fourth place, are like a marble stone or brick, which rubbed over with salt imbibes nothing. Such as these have the name of religion upon them, nothing in them. And they may be met with every where, especially in outward society and commerce: for they are still abroad, even when better people are retired; and sometimes they will for their own interest get into inclosures too, where they procure much disturbance and vexation to the saints. In a word catholic religion is wondrous good and fruitfull, as it was said of Canaan, and brings forth huge clusters of lovely grapes all over the land, but there be also giants and the sons of *Anak* to be met with there, and I escaped not their hands.

But God knew the innocence of my heart, and I believe his good angel supported me. For the main, I got the end I went for. And having passed through some part of Holland and Germany, France and Flanders, returned to my country, to partake of the miseries which our civil wars, then commenced upon pretence of a purer reformation and further elongation from popery, did bring upon us. And, out of the love I bear to my protestant countrymen, I set forth this little *Light*, that they may no more be inveigled to infect their hearts and hands with the hatred and ruin of the innocent. For catholic faith, which we call popery, is in it self a most sacred and pure religion. It makes millions of saints, though it permit some bad ones: even as protestancy, which brings all things to a naked belief, that must suffice what ever life we lead, though it suffer some honest men, not apt by the light of reason to transgress so oft as they may, makes a million of loose and wicked

wicked ones. But there the few evil ones have some reason for doing ill, here the multitude of desperadoes have none at all. Catholicks cannot doubt of their faith, if Christ who promised to be with his Church unto the worlds consummation, be a true Prophet. And again, if he be a true prophet, then all reformers who jointly affirm the Church to have failed for so many ages, must needs be in an error. But I com to my travels and particular observations, so much as may serve to my present purpose.

§. 16. *Infallibility.*

I Found by my conversation with them in all places where I came, that nothing was more fixedly rooted in the hearts of all Roman catholicks, than a belief of Gods infallible protection of his Church, both in truth and infirmity, amongst the various both oppositions incumbrances and troubles from without, and temptations darkness and weakneses within her self, even to the utmost consummation of the world. This, com what will, fills their hearts, with resignation, patience, faith and constancy on all occasions. They firmly beleeve what Gospel has told them, that the mystical body of Christ shall be made conformable to her divine head: now and then afflicted scourged mortified: but that again it shall interchangeably be honoured, full of peace and glorious. So likewise, that it shall never either so totter by its own weaknes, or ly so heavily oppressd by any persecution, but that it shall recover and stand upright, by the power of his spirit, who is resurrection and never failing life.

The *Jewes* before her face, the Pagans round about her, nay Hereticks that go out of her side, shall all of them exalt their opposition and errors, against this holy and immaculate spous of divine wisdom. But as she shall not through her own frailty, so neither can she by any forrein violence be constrained either to submit to errors in faith,

ish, or sink under opposition; being strengthened and
 aided from heaven, against both intrinsick weaknes and
 extrinsick violence, by the wisdom love and power of him,
 who being himself almighty and most good promised ever
 to remain in Spirit with her to conduct her in all truth
 and support her, so long as the world should last.

And this great prerogative and indowment of the
 Church of Christ, so peculiarly hers, that no state or policy
 upon earth besides her self did ever look for it, or so much
 think of it, is of late times called **INFALLIBI-**
LITY: a blessing of heaven so excellent, that it renders
 the Church renowned and venerable, above all societies
 that are found amongst the sons of men; so ratified and
 constantly maintained in all ages, in despite of the power
 of darknes, that all nations have stood abasht at it; so
 singularly comfortable to her children, and frightfull to her
 enemies, that these having by long active opposition even
 tired themselves, have at length in much amasement and
 reverence, acknowledged her majesty, the other so ac-
 knowledged it at all times, that by no passive opposition
 they could ever be tired. *Si Deus nobiscum quis contra*
est, this is the great word, and strength and comfort
 which renders Catholics invincible. Christ hath promised
 so to protect and guide his Church, that the very gates of
 hell shall not prevail against her: Christ is God: God is
 infallibly true, and nothing can resist him; therfor the
 Church shall be infallibly protected. This is their argu-
 ment, which he that can solve must be subtiler than the
 devil.

I communed with vulgar people, and many grave ju-
 dicious men, that walk in a region above them. When I
 had don that, I perused ancient doctours, historians, spi-
 ritual men and divines of all ages, as many as I could meet
 with. And I perceived, that they all beleaved and gloried
 in this priviledg of divine protection promised to the
 Christian Church. It is the faith of their understanding,
 and

and joy of their hearts. By it they are quickened to a lively perseverance in faith, and remain together in one flock, with all unanimity and peace. They live, they move, they dy, by strength of this beleeve, in the bosom of that Catholick Church, from which neither life nor death, neither Principalities nor powers, neither things present, nor things to com, can ever separate or remove them.

If you ask them, why they beleeve their own Souls immortality, why the resurrection or any world to com, why the real presence, or power of absolution and baptisme, &c. notwithstanding so many reasons and arguments against every thing: they answer presently that holy Church whereunto by Gods blessing they have adhered hath brought them such a Gospel, which Gods grace moving them to beleeve, they will ever hold fast: Christ said he would conduct and guide his Flock. And that it is likely enough even to reason, although nothing had been ever said of it, that being God, as he is said to be, he should so preserve his own Church which he planted himself and watered with his blood. And if this should not be true, all is at a loss; at as great a loss, as if Christ had never appeared amongst us: sith this way cannot fail, all others do. Even the words of Gospel it self are by voluntary interpretations eluded, and made to speak what every man pleases. And considering the frailties and darknes of mans understanding, they judg it more rational to live by faith, then dy in incredulity; to follow the Church that authentick and most solemn guide which in the best reason we can use is most likely not to mislead us, than any private spirit of our own, which we find even in ordinary affairs to delude us so grossly, that we are ashamed continually even of our own mistakes therin.

And truly if the Church be not incessantly guided by som superiour hand, in the truths of religion, three great and insupportable inconveniences would follow. First, that Christ hath no more influence upon that his sacred polity,

ity, now to preserv it, than had *Numa*, *Draco*, *Lycurgus* being dead upon the civill and ceremonious polites which themselves founded, whilst they lived; and consequently Christ must both be thought as meer man as they; and his Church must only stand, till revolution of time has put a period to it, even as it hath don to the other polites and states. Secondly, Christ had done an act of injustice, if his Church were not secured from errours, in obliging men to an universal and indispensible obedience to her dictates. For if he do not so preserv her, that she shall not mislead or be misled, ther can be no just reason why any one should be looked upon as a reprobate or, as our Lord himself speaks, as a heathen and publican, because he does not hear a Church, whose voice may be erroneous and the doctrine she propounds a falshood. Thirdly, becaus this hinge of Infallibility being once losed, nothing can hang firm. The Incarnation, Resurrection, Ascension of Christ, nay heaven it self, may be thought haply to be som figure or moral trope, the sacraments a mystery of pomp: Gods providence and our own souls immortality a philosophical conceit; nay religion it self a pious fraud, and the Bible but another Alcoran. Men once left to their own sens and interpretation, without submission to an awefull guide will produce strang monsters up and down the world in a short space.

The truth then is this: Jesus the great espous of holy Church, when he was to depart hence to the glory of his eternal father, from whom he had issued in all eternitie as his rational Word and Wisdome, powred out the greatest comforts and sweetest promises that could possibly issue from so much goodnes and power, at his last adieu. Amongst the rest this was one, that he would be ever present with the Church his virgin Spous, both to comfort her in the adversities should befall her, as expedient to make her conformable to the sufferings of her Lord and head, and direct her also in all truth for ever, against both the weak-

ness

ness of frail nature and oppositions either of error or cruelty. So that she should never either fail, or forfeit her faith in him, by vertue of the care and guidance of his good spirit, which by the link of charity should tie her inseparably to himself. This is his promise; which he had oftentimes insinuated before. The places in gospel are so well known, I need not cite them. And hereupon the Church beleeves her self to be by the same Lord so infallibly protected from above, that she shall never fail, either in her being, or in any of her truths once received, even unto the second coming of her Lord. And this is the *Infallibility* which Catholicks beleeve and talk of; and is by those, who the easier to superinduce a reformation to their own liking teach us, that the Church hath for many ages failed upon earth, and tainted her self with errors, unchristianly opposed.

Nor do they speak of any Church in particular, Asian, African, Grecian, Roman or other congregation, when they deny Infallibility to it; but they absolutely deny the Church of Christ in general, however it be called, that Church which Christ our Lord planted upon earth, his visible Church, to be any certain guide or assured mistress of truth. And every such Church, they say, has relapsed and failed, and was not to be seen or found in her purity upon earth, till themselves appeared. This is the song of most of them, when they first rise up to reforme.

An assertion this is of the utmost desperation that can be imagined in any one that calls himself Christian. Nor did any of those that fell immediately, from the catholick Church ever fasten upon it, till they perceived their condition otherwis lost, and all other refuge or subterfuge to fail. The Arrians spoke it not, till they were themselves condemned in the council of Nice: nor yet the Nestorians, till they were censured in the council of Ephesus: nor the Eutichians, till they were judged in the council of Chalcedon: nor *Wicleph*, till he was cast in the council of
 Constans:

Constance: nor *Luther* and his protestant disciples, till their doctrine was silenced by Pope *Leo*, and anathematized in the council of *Trent*. So long as they could by any possible stratagem keep their estimation upright, they still pretended all high respect and reverence to the Church: unless some were so madly exorbitant at the very first, that they thought it in vain, to make any such pretense. But when they once found themselves beaten out of the open field, then like desperadoes they all raised their batteries against the Church, which before they seemed to reverence.

But our protestant Divines here in England, when they come to oppose this property of the Church, speak so altogether besides the purpose; that a man if he be not acquainted beforehand with the philosophical schools that be in catholic countries, whose conclusions and results these men do oppose as parcels of Christian faith, would wonder what they mean or what they would have. And it may be some of those, who defend catholic faith in England or other countries, may by their own consideration either give the occasion or continue it: whilst insisting too much upon their philosophical dictats, they labour sometimes with too great earnestness to maintain that, which indeed not any faith of Jesus Christ, delivered us either by Gospel, or tradition or council, but the meer dictats of their *Samuel*, at whose feet they have sat for some years, to hear, dispute and reply, for exercise of their wits.

The *Infallibility* I have spoken of, which is inherently fixed in God above, and terminated upon his Church, by his supreme goodness inseparably guided and protected, is a great article of Christian faith, acknowledged and firmly believed in all times and places of Christianity. But over and above this, whether there be any other *Infallibility* fixed in the Churches breast, as some supernatural quality impressed by divine grace and power: and if there should be any such quality, whether it be impressed in all the whole general council, who sit to steer the ship of the Church, purposely

purposely met together for help in some extraordinary storm ; or only in the chief Pastour and Pilot : This if a man com once to ask , he finds all antiquitie to be mute, & the hearts of all former Christians utterly unacquainted with that Philosophical subtilty, wherein faith is utterly unconcerned. But if any such curious inquirer shall go up to the Schools in Catholick countreys, he may there hear the question, which being besides faith belongs only unto them, nimblely agitated, discussed and resolved *pro* and *con*, here one way, there another. Som will there hold, that Infallibility cannot be inherent in all persons assembled in council, but only in the chief Pastour, in order to the direction of the rest : another, that it is only in the body of an authentick general Synod, over whom that pastour presides as head. But a third sort of Divines ther be, who unwilling in explication of faith to stray too far from it, use not therein any such accident or quality at all, and think it neither a safe nor prudent way, too peremptorily to maintain it, least that should in time be mistaken for faith, which is haply inconsistent with true Philosophie. And I am of that mind too.

For what if it should happen that ther be no such thing in nature as real accidents, or qualities, even corporal ones, physically distinct from substance ; although in a metaphysical abstraction they be rightly admitted. A very probable Philosophy and one of the eminentest in the world, teaches ther be none. Surely then Christian faith linked to a contrary Philosophie, if that should prove fals, must needs suffer prejudice. But if ther be accidents or qualities or any such real entities in nature, what if such an accident, quality or property be proved incompatible to human condition, nay to any created being, who is out of the state of beatifical confirmation? might not all Christianity com then to be suspected, if ever any such quality should be asserted as a part of it. And indeed it is already most unwarily maintained by som writers of this age, even amongst

mongst the articles of religion, and with so much indistinction, that an ordinary reader would verily think it to be some part of faith. The altercation and feuds that be in Councils, how can they be conceived to stand with an intrinsecal inherent infallibility. Such an infallibility neither doubts, nor disputes, nor wrangles, nor demurs, nor needs any anxious inquisition.

That one Infallibility which is inherently fixed in God above, and objectively terminated upon his Church, by his goodness and special providence infallibly guided, which all the Christian world by tenour of Gospel and lively tradition hath ever beleaved, and no philosophie is able to confute, is as efficacious to the preservation of the Church of God, both in her truth and indeficiency, as any created Infallibility can be. And to urge further any intrinsecal infallibility amongst the articles of Christian faith is to expose religion to needles and unanswerable doubts, and indeed not to defend faith but opinion. The infallibility which ancient Christians beleaved and only thought of is not intrinsecal but extrinsecal, adherent and objective, not subjective and inherent in the Church. It is Gods active guidance, care and providence over his Church which is his Spouse, and, as *S. Paul* phrases it, his own mystick body, passively led, guided and protected by his Spirit and nothing else; nor did they use any such word as *Infallibility*, which is a term lately brought up by schoolmen, to express the care of God over his Church, and the power she hath from thence to keep her beleivers in her obedience and unity.

And to defend any other Infallibility which should be intrinsecal and inherent either in the Pope or in any other man or men amongst the articles of faith, however it may pass well enough in Academies of philosophy, is, that I may speak sparingly, an unadvised action. By this means that which is faith indeed is quite neglected, and the Lady left forlorn, the handmaid is defended in her mistresses

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clothes. And yet she cannot be defended neither: and so both are lost. For how can any one be able to persuade an alien or unbeliever; that any man or men can be men, and yet intrinsically infallible. Is not Infallibility as high and divine an impress, and as far beyond mans nature, as impeccability? Can God make a nature impeccable in it self or of it self? Or does any grace of God render meer man so impeccable, that he can never do amiss? And what is that vertue that shall render any so infallible in this or that affair, that he shall not possibly of himself ever judg amiss therein. Some would think that an intellect infallible might com in time to make the will impeccable, and that an infallibility in the highest things might by degrees introduce an inerrability in others, if it were once intrinsically implanted in the Spirit. For ther is no contrary qualitie to abolish that divine impression: nor any thing to be assigned, which may obstruct its influence. If my eye were once intrinsically so elevated, that it could discern the inhabitants of the moon, if ther be any there, surely I should be inabled by the same light, to perceiv many things upon the surface of the earth, and perhaps within it too, which now lie hid. When should this light of infallibilitie be imprinted? this surely is worthy of consideration. Who perceivs any such thing within himself? Or is it rather imperceivable? so that a man shall see infallibly, and not discern it. How long doth this Infallibilitie last within him that once hath it? all his life time or only for som howers or moments, and then withdrawn again, haply when the council is ended, and the doors shut up; as the raies of the sun then vanish, when the casement is interposed. I conceiv intrinsick Infallibilitie to be a divine attribute, as much identified with omniscience, as is Impeccabilitie with essential goodnes.

This piece of philosophy then may serve well enough, as I have already said, in an Academy of wits, as apt there to gossip withall, as any other therein of reason. But Christianity

stianity must not therfor be exposed to division, or suffer calumny under the mask of that philosophy, which is by some men unadvisedly obruded upon the world in her name. Must Christians be bound to defend every disorder of any Pope or Council? They are bound to do it; if they think them intrinsically infallible. He that infallibly guides his Church can work good even out of those evils, and bring all to a happy end. But if the Church be once thought infallibly to guide her self, then surely by such proceedings of men, will the beleeof of her infallibility be soon annulled. A created, imprest, inherent infallibility must not only be commendable in the conclusion, as a communicated extrinsick infallibility is, but allowable also, sufficient, sure, and perfectly good in all its proceedings. It cannot jarre, it cannot disagree, it raises no feuds, suffers no doubts, admits no altercations, knows no factions, and needs no laborious inquisition in any affair it goes about within its own limits. All is perfectly, all is sodainly clear to an unerring and infallible understanding.

In the mean time the enemies of catholick faith exult and triumph in the advantage that is given her adversaries, by the very defence of it. They never write nowadaies against the true infallibility, which cannot rationally be opposed, but only against this forged one, which no faith has delivered, nor can any reason make good. And unwary catholick writers, labour som of them, the true infallibility quite neglected, to defend only the philosophicall one, to the scandall and prejudice of the other. It is a sad thing to see the multitude of virulent books, put forth as well here in England as other places, to create a general *odium* and ill will to poor Catholicks, fraught only with the personal misdemeanours and passions of some Popes who amongst so many excellent persons that have sat in that chair, have by anger or ambition acted somewhat amiss and offensive in their life time; not thaming also to affirm, that Catholicks do and ought to justifie, all that

any of their Popes have ever said or don. If he be intrinsically infallible, they are indeed. But what Christian ever did or ought to believe that. Good catholick writers may commendably cover the defect of parents, especially when some be false, others maliciously aggravated, and all but frailties incident to human condition. But they should do well to let the world know, what indeed and truth is the nature of their faith, and what not.

How this infallible protection of God and preservation of his Church may be rationally believed, notwithstanding the frailty and mutability of mans nature, the various opposition of so potent adversaries, and the exemplary change, desolation and ruin, of so many goodly states and renowned empires of the world, which once flourished in all amplitude and glory, and are now either at an end, or in their utmost decline; especially such the Christian Church hath her ebbs and flows, as well as they; will not be difficult to declare, upon one supposal, which none, that bear the name of Christian, will now deny me. And that is only this, *That Christ is God*. For if he hath promised infallibly to secure his Church, and be himself God, he cannot but make it good. And that he hath promised it, is as evident as Gospel can make it. But if the Gospel be not true, the dispute is at an end, and Faith and Church too. Nor is it any strange thing, that the great pastor of souls, although he sit in heaven, should keep his flock on earth from going astray. His almighty spirit is powerful enough to do it. And he said, when he was visibly conversant amongst us, my spirit shall lead you into all truth: I am with you even unto the worlds consummation: the gates of hell shall not prevail against my Church &c. These and other such like words of his, do as clearly speak an infallible guidance, as any words can utter.

It might seem a work of more labour to show how this extrinsecal infallibility may suffice for the Churches conservation, whilst man upon whom it works, remains intrinsically

secally mutable, and still liable both to natural and moral failings. If the Pope and council, be not personally elevated by som supernatural indowment, why may they not either by frailty or conspiracy teach errour, upon so many distracting circumstances as may occur. And why may not one part of the Church fail as well as another, and consequently all fail at last. But of this difficulty I make not much trouble; as I shall show by a familiar example.

Put case that God by som manifest appearing sign, should make me that although the land be all pestered with robbers, who murder all they meet, yet that I might travel notwithstanding and walk abroad confidently, wherever I pleased; for that none of them or any other upon earth should ever hurt, molest or rob me all the daies of my life. In this case and condition, although God should give me no internal foresight extraordinary, but leave me wholly to my self as I was before, yet would my preservation be as certain, as if I my self by my own personal insight through all events, conferred upon me extraordinarily, should provide for my own safety. I might chance to walk or travel by a hedge, where theevs lay on purpos to rob and kill, yet might they by a hundred waies be diverted from that thought or work, through his providence that watches over me, while I passed by in safety. They might be weary of watching, and so withdraw to som refreshment or pastime, or fall into a slumber, or be in some serious discours, or moved at the sight of me, either think it pittie, or not worth the labour to trouble me &c. And would not this be as good, as certain, as infallible, as any care I could take of my self, though never so much inerrable in my own spirit. I trow it would, and perhaps more. No light or foresight, that may possibly be in man can render him so secure, as such a shadow of the Almightyes protection.

And thus likewise shall God almightyes protection and providences over his Church, wherof himself hath given her

her full assurance, keep her as safe both from deficiency and error, though she remain intrinsically unaltered upon that account, as surely and as universally, as if those that guided his Church under him, wer intrinsically exalted to a personal infallibilitie. Upon the occasion of one man or nations apostasie from the Church, another by that supreme providence may com in and submit to her: and more glorie may accrew by this access, than was dammage contracted by the others fall. Councils may differ fall out and wrangle, and for som space exalt opinions or waies, that are not consonant to God; yet the watchfull providence that hovers over that abyss of waters, can, and if he hath so promised will, by waies best known to himself, which be infinite and not to be dived into by man, even out of that dark confusion bring forth light: so that all things shall work at length to the good of Gods Church, which he hath so graciously promised to preserv. God may indeed use som intrinsecal motion in the hearts of som one or more, as he shall best pleas, who is in the midst of such as are in his name gathered together, for the caus of truth and unity. But this is rather Christ himself, than any qualitie of his; rather an actual concurs than habitual impress, and not tied to any one, but distributed at his pleasur, who out of the mouths of babes and sucklings perfects sometimes his own will and prais. Nor will he, who hath promised to conduct them into all truth, suffer any thing to be concluded, ratified and confirmed, but what is answerable to his will.

This infallibilitie then of Christs Church is extrinsecal and resident in God who infallibly keeps and protects his flock, and not intrinsically inherent in any one man or men. And yet is the Church as secure, as if she wer infallible by any force of her own unerring act. This is faith and beleaved by all Catholick Christians, and no parcel of uncertain Philosophie, nor liable to the many difficulties, that overwhelm that other philosophical opinion, which may probably

probably be fals, I am sure it is no faith, nor any the least particle of religion. Our Lord promised infallibly to guide and secure his Church: but he never promised to make any bodie infallible in it, or intrinsically inerrable in his judgment. And a Christian may with as much joy and securitie follow his guides and pastours, whom God hath assured him, he will so conduct in all truth, that they shall not mislead his flock, as if the same pastours directed and lead his sheep by their own intrinsick foresight, personal providence, and proper assurance, without any such conduct. And the Pope and Council may as full and truly be looked upon as an unerring guide, by vertue of this exterior providence watching over his Church, as either he or they could be so esteemed for any intrinsical inherent infallibilitie, if any such were possible.

And thus the Pope is beleaved to be infallible, when he speaks *in cathedra*, that is to say, *in consensu seniorum & presbyterorum Ecclesia*, in a general Council assembled together, for the peace and quietnes of the Church, upon the rising of som extraordinary tempest, either by heresie or other opposition. For then is Jesus Christ beleaved to sit invisibly in the stern of that ship, to guide it with those visible Pilots, in its right way. And the pope and council and all their decrees esteemed so sure, that from the decision of such an assembly is no appeal: but he is looked upon, that will not acquiesce thereunto, as a publican and heathen; that is to say, no more a Christian, but a person excommunicated and excluded that society, and now become as a meer alien and pagan.

And that this way and method was chalked out by Jesus himself, in such cases to be used, is not only manifest by the proceedings of the Church these last fifteen hundred years, wherein councils have been continually assembled in the catholick world upon such occasions, eighteen general ones, and more than a hundred national and provincial Synods in several places; but by the very practis of the apostles

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while they remained together in *Palestine*, where our book of apostolical Acts speak of no less than six or seven meetings of theirs in that little space: and for aught any one can tell they might convene many times seven, and no less in the age succeeding. Where as others that are not catholic, dare not call a general Council, though there be never so much division amongst them, not believing in their hearts, that Jesus Christ is amongst them to bring them to unity, & assuredly knowing that none will yield to another, and that there is no power in any such convention to oblige them.

Here have been factions in *England* about religion, ever since I was born, and thousands are now gathered together on all sides in great bodies, *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, *Fanaticks*, to the great disturbance of the Protestant Church here settled in the land. Why does not the Bishop of *Canterbury* summon a Council to end the differences. It is well enough known, that even in primitive times of Christianity, and ever since, Councils have still been called upon such occasions: Nor could there ever be greater cause, or higher concernment to any kingdom or province, than is now here amongst us. Our land was but the other day utterly laid desolate by these factions: and now again it is openly menaced by the same parties. Can our Prelates sleep in such a sad and dangerous condition. Or is not Christ indeed amongst us to lay the temple? Surely we do not think in our hearts, what we so often profess in words, that our *Protestant* Church is indeed that true Church of Christ, with which he hath promised ever to remain, to conduct her into a stability of truth.

And although such Councils are necessary in times of faction, authentically to declare truth, and silence differences that arise in the Christian flock, as governours or helps extraordinary in such like cases of tempestuous troubles: yet after their sentence is once declared, then is the general pastour alone observed, and heeded by all the Catholic

tholick flock, as the Ordinary, Governour, Custos, Warden, and keeper of the great *depositum fidei*, as *S. Paul* phrases it, the canons of faith and Christian discipline, with all obedience and love.

These few words of mine, which I think are plain enough exprest, may suffice to answer many hundred pamphlets, books and papers, written against this subject of the Churches Infallibility, which I see none of them which write against it, som in prose and som in vers, do themselves so much as understand nor can they have, if it be but rightly understood, any one sound word to say against it, unless they will deny the Gospel.

All this whole doctrinal point of the Church and Councils Infallibility, I find it learnedly stated, resolved and confirmed by *Franciscus à S. Clara*, a learned divine amongst Catholicks; who though he be a very great Schoolman, yet in his usual discretion he ever warily distinguishes when time requires, true Christian faith from opinions of scholastical Theology. If all others would do so, the simplicity of Christian faith would sodainly appear more splendid. In his *Systema fidei* he thus speaks;

Supponendum primò, non posse probari à priori, scilicet à causis intrinsecis. "First, saith he, we must know and suppose, that Councils cannot *à priori* or from causes intrinsecal, be proved to be infallible, either from the matter or from the Councils; as man by his intrinsecal form is said to be risible, from matter corruptible. The matter or material part of councils, is only so many men met together, who if they be never so many, are still fallible, and defectible in their judgements. This needs no proof: for the very nature of man demonstrates it. Neither can their concours into one place render them inerrable. For the place can neither sanctifie nor confirm in faith. Nor can any argument of intrinsecal infallibility be deduced from the form or formal part of the Council, which is their gathering together in the name
" of

" of Christ. For, supposing, that such a divine form of
 " Christs assisting power be really amongst them, yet can
 " they not therfor gain an intrinsick infallibility. For a
 " a form takes not away the ignobilitie of the matter. That
 " were not to inform, but change and destroy it. And while
 " the matter is corruptible, though the form be otherwise,
 " yet the compound arising of both must be corruptible too:
 " as it is in man. So that whilst men are men, however
 " they be elevated by their being assembled in the name of
 " Christ, they will ever be fallible, intrinsically fallible.
 " Hereupon all divines teach with one consent, that God
 " cannot make a creature simply and absolutely impeccable
 " in himself and of himself.

" We must know and suppose secondly, that although
 " the vertue of Christ, or which is the same, Christ himself
 " or God, do especially concur with men conciliarly as-
 " sembled, by way of an efficient caus, yet are they not
 " therfor rendred intrinsically inerrable to the intended
 " purpos. For the effect and result of truth to be deduced,
 " and the manner of deducing it, in this way of causa-
 " tion, must be determined by the more debile and weaker
 " caus; which if it be natural and finite, can never by its
 " own intrinsick power, with any concurrence, reach a su-
 " pernatural effect inevitably. This is evident both to the
 " concours of God with second causes, where the effect is
 " ever finite, notwithstanding that infinite concours, even
 " as the manner of proceedings; and also in conclusions
 " of ratiocination, which being deduced from premises of
 " two differing natures, do ever follow the weaker. So in
 " our case of the second cause being defectible, as all men
 " conciliarly congregated be, cannot be able to deduce in-
 " defectibly from occult premises an infallible verity. For
 " every action of man is defectible, as man himself is in-
 " trinsically errable. Nor can his action by any superiour
 " concours becom substantially altered. Nor does a super-
 " natural concours seem more prevalent to a supernatural
 " effect,

effect, than is the natural concours of God to a naturall effect, which we see with our eyes, not to be so evenly carried on in nature, but that notwithstanding this natural concours of God, deviations and monstrous births do often happen. We may adde to adde to all this, that a general Council and all the whole catholick Church, in what state or condition so ever it be supposed on earth, is still but a created Being; and must needs be therefor defectible in its actions and intrinsically fallible.

"But lastly we must know and beleev, that men continually congregated in the name of Christ, for the guidance of his Church, wherof they are appointed overseers under him, and by whom they are peculiarly assisted for that end, shall never actually err, in deducing necessary rules of faith & truth, by former principles received. And this, by reason of divine promis, made by our Lord to his Church, of conducting her into all truth even for ever. But never actually to fail and to be intrinsically infallible are two things. This then is the final determination, That the certainty of Councils, and latitude of that certainty, is not to be gathered simply from the nature of Councils, or of the Church, but from the promis of God, which although it be extrinsecal, yet as far as the promis goes it is most certain. Thus speaks that learned man and catholick Doctour. I do not find this point so substantially declared by any modern writer, as it is by that great Divine. And therefor it is, that I have set down so much of his words.

I am confident this piece of Catholick faith so soon as it is rightly understood, will be justified, even by those who have hitherto persecuted and sought against it, under the name of a Philosophie they could not like of, haply not so much by their own fault, as of those that speak them faulty. For the simplicitie of faith in this point, I find it generally now a daies not so much as heeded. But they spend the
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nerves and sinewes of their whole strength in an opposition and defence of a School-Philosophie. Infallibilitie, intrinsic, inherent infallibilitie, that is all the busines of dispute, which why it is opposed I can well enough understand. The opinion is enough improbable, and welcom to those who rejoyce in any scandal against the catholick Church. But why it should be maintained and maintained amongst faith, and for faith, it is not so easie to discern; unless the abettors of that way should be resolved to make their philosophie pass for faith, to expose religion to contempt, to keep people out of the Church, and offend those that are within it. We know what befell those men who returning from *Canaan*, did so affright the *Israelites* with their storie of great giants there, that none had any longer mind to move forward or approach that place. I say no more. But we may be assured and by experience find it true, that this inherent Infallibilitie is a giant; it is such a bugbear, that it affrights people from approaching a religion whereof they think that improbable doctrine to be any part. And many such offensive giants are exposed to the view and hearing of people now a daies, of purpos a man would think, & love of scandal. The faith is here neglected which no man can rationally oppose, and in place thereof is an opinion exalted, which no man can prudently defend; except it be in an Academy, for exercise of wit and learning.

Yet it may here be noted, that those Anticatholicks, who oppugne Infallibilitie in the Pope and Councils, maintain it in themselves. Their writings, their words, their gestures bewray their hearts. They speak, they write, they defend it all of them, that they are assuredly in the truth: they fight and kill and dy for it. And no man can prosecute anothers error unto death, if he suspect his own truth. The question indeed is not, whether ther be any such thing as inherent Infallibilitie, but in vain it is. All the whole *Puritan* bodie, divided now into three or four Sects of *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, *Anabaptist* and *Quaker* would not for their

their opinion have fortified their loyalty, disturbed our peace and depopulated our kingdom, as lately they have don, if they had thought they might themselves be haply in an error. Such actions as these sufficiently speak their thoughts. Their interiour conceived *Infallibility* shooted out first into words, as little buds and blossoms of their minds, then into leaves of books and writings, and lastly into the fruit of tumultuous actions. First they said they had the truth with them, and certain truth and only they. Then they wrote it, and condemned *extripode*, the whole world besides themselves of error. And lastly by their actions no less than those of war and blood shed, they maintained it unto the death and utter ruin of their neighbours. And now we have enough. What the bud would not make out, the leaf may: And if the leaf suffice not, the fruit will show the tree to be no other, than this *Wilding* of *Infallibility*. They are all infallible, & will not be moved so much as to a moderation: So infallible, that natures civilitie and grace which speak nothing so much as resignation and peace, must for that infallible either truth or falshood of others, be trampled underfoot. It is indeed the saying of *Martin Luther*, but the thoughts of all his followers; "I pass not if a thousand *Austins*, a thousand *Cyprians*, a thousand *Harry Churches* be against me, &c. Neither Angels nor men shall judg of my doctrin: but I my self will be judg both of men & Angels too, &c. And this *Infallibility* of others must either be personal, or none.

But truly, if intrinsic infallibilitie be any where upon earth, it is as likely to reside in him, who for so many hundreds of years hath been looked upon, as chief pastour of Christianitie, as in *Tom Taylor*, or *Sam Smith*. And with more reason may it be acknowledged in a generall Council, met together from the face of the Christian world to conferre what they had received, and decide businesses of religion by tradition and Gospel, than in any petty convention of *Presbyterians* or *Quakers*, and as much in the

the Roman as any protestant Church. And he that judgeth a foregoing Church out of which himself or progenitors fallied, and condemns her of error, upon this principle, *That all men are liars*, as all of us have done, he does in one and the same breath, as much disable his own pretended truth as diminish anothers; and ever whilst he is judging, condemns his own censur, since he is but himself a man, and a liar that saies so. If ther be no *Infallibility*, let no man presume, either to exalt himself or depress another. Inexcusable thou art O man, saith good St. *Paul*, who ever thou art that judgest; for in the very same thing thou judgest another, thou condemnest thy self. For even thou who judgest, dost the self-same things. And are you sure, you that condemn the Roman Churches *Infallibility*, that you are your self in the right. If you say, No: why do you then so peremptorily condemn her? If you be sure and certain of it, then is ther an *Infallibility* owned at the same time it is oppugned. And to whom it should more properly belong, coms to be a new question.

Roman Catholicks conceiv they have as much reason to beleeve the Church, the visible Church of Christ to be by Christs promised assistance an unerring guide, as to beleeve Christ to be God: and think they must needs deny this particle of faith, if they forsake the other. And if any be otherwise minded, yet let not Catholicks be blamed, for beleeving what they have received from Gospel, and professing what they believ, and holding constantly what they have once profest.

They know well enough, that the Scripture and holy Gospel is infallible, an infallible rule of faith. We need not urge them to that, and our zealous ministers may save themselves that pains. But withall, that it may be so, it must be genuine and rightly understood. And when men draw it into several senses, unto breach of unity and peace, and dangerous schisms, hath Christ then left us no judges upon earth, to decide the difference. The Catholick saies

he has don it, as became a wise legislatour, and appointed his Church an assured dictatour of truth. Others deny any such mistres. And the business sticks: Whence had we that Gospel? Did we not receive it from the hands of the Church, the Roman Catholick Church? We cannot deny it. If we condemn this Church as fals, what real esteem can we reap of the Gospel she delivered us? Or how can we long agree about the sense? It is natural I should think to suspect a story or doctrin, that is brought us by the hands of fals teachers; and if we do keep it, to disagree amongst our selves about its meaning. And what shall then direct us? We may, for fear or interest, seem for a while, to give the book a respect. But that devotion will soon ceas, when we shall consider whence we had it, although it was at first delivered us under the notion of Gods Book and Word. And if we once give that story and doctrin another meaning, than they intended, who first delivered it us, and so fall off from them; surely by the same principles, we made that first breach, we shall be making new ones; and with more reason than before, when the sense is perverted, the Gospel is annulled; and it is no more Gods Word, but our own. With my own interpretation I can admit of the Jewish Talmud and Turkish Alcoran. But the professors and owners of those religions, will not therfor acknowledge me either to believe the books, or to be a true disciple of any such faith. We must either respect the Church that gave us the book, and take her meaning with it, or els we cannot think as we ought, of the book she gave us, or be rightly thought to keep it. For the sense and meaning is the life of all words; and when that is gon, all is lost. And perhaps they intended all should be lost, who first oppugned the Churches truth; or that spirit at least, who first set them on, foresaw it. It was wisely don of *Sampson*, who when he had a mind to overthrow a whole temple at one blow, he set his arms and shoulders against the pillers of it, and so he did his work. By denying the Churches truth is all religion

religion compendiously annulled at once, or a way at least made for the ruin of it, assuredly to follow. For the Church as *S. Paul* speaks is *columna & firmamentum veritatis*, it is the pillar and firmament or support of truth. Shake this Pillar, and all the whole fabrick built upon it; which is no less than the entire body of religion taught the world at their first conversion by the said Church, if it fall, must tumble with it to the ground.

§. 17. *Manner or Real presence.*

THe glorie of Catholick religion, the stupendious *canon* of their Faith, the very Sun in their firmament, which cheated all antient beleivers and dazled infidels round about, is the *real Presence*, and myserie of the Eucharist. The marvellous devotion which Catholicks bear it in places, they joy they conceiv therein, the preparations they make, by almsdeeds, examination of conscience, confession, meditation, to make themselves more worthy to stand before that their Prince of glory, whom they beleev really present amongst them, it is even a marvellous thing to behold it.

But when I found afterward, so many antient books Greek and Latine, so many historians, so many fathers, in the same manner to exult in their altars, in their shrines, in their priesthood, and in that stupendious presence of their Lord amongst his Catholick beleivers, I could not then but wonder; what strang passion that might be, which moved our nation in our great grandfathers time, to pull down our Altars, that have stood for a thousand years in *England*, destroy the Priesthood, and banish that real Presence, which had bin the glorie and joy of our forefathers, for so many ages together, out of this our Kingdom. Wherein had Christ offended us? or what hurt had the real Presence ever don us?

I do hardly know any book so large, as that it could be
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able to hold the words and discourses have been made, by holy men and writers in all ages, about this great Legacie of the Church, this strang and stupendious presence of her beloved Lord with her here on Earth; who, as if the Eternal wisdom took som special pleasur to be conversant with the sons of men, is willing it seems by his own presence amongst them, to give a nearer Exercise both to their faith and love towards himself. Before he came into the world, he made known by many signs and prophecies, that he would com and walk amongst men, to kindle their desires. And he told them, after he was departed, he would be with them still, to keep love warm. For, true is our old proverb, *Out of sight, out of mind*. He would by the presence of his spirit, be with every beleever, that should dress up an Altar for him in his heart; and he would be corporally and personally present with them all assembled together, in the altar, where they should meet together to worship and present up their requests in his name. And yet so shadowed in both places, that whersoever their love should be employed, their faith also should be exercised: For his just ones must live by faith. *Verely thou art a God that hidest thy self*, saith the holy Prophet, *O God of Israel our Saviour*. And yet he so hides himself too, that som glimmerings of him may be seen as it were through a bush, in that shadow, wherein he lies concealed. And he that so hides himself, that he would be looked after; he must first, one way or other, disappear; then secondly, he must be som where present, where affection may seek him; and thirdly, he must give som sign where love may find him, beleaving he is there, though hidden. And all this did Christ our Lord perform before his death. He acquainted his disciples that he must be gon; he told them he would be with them still, not only in his divine spirit, but even bodily too, though in another manner. But how and where? Look you here, quoth he, do you see this bread? Mark well. Here I will be corporally. And that you may know

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how to be assured of it : As you now see me do , so do you hereafter , in remembrance of me , and you have me with you. Wherefor he took bread and blessed and brake , and said, *Hoc est corpus meum*. This is my body. Do yet as I have aforetime informed you , and as now you see me do ; & you have me with you under these appearances, where I shall be present , but still concealed amongst you, even unto all generations. And verily thou art a God , that thus canst hide thy self , O God of Israel our Saviour. *Gloria Dei est celare rem, gloria autem regis est rem invenire, non aliter, ac si divina natura innocenti & benevolo puerorum ludo delectaretur, qui ideo se abscondunt ut inveniantur, atque animam sibi collusorem in hoc ludo, pro sua in homines indulgentia & bonitate, coaptaverit*, as speaks the great Chancellour of England, Lord *Verulam*.

And whensoever God doth thus hide himself , he must of necessity give man som notice of it , or els he can never discern or find him out. When he appeared to St. *Paul* in the form of light , and to St. *Mary Magdalen* in the species of a Gardiner, neither the one, nor the other , had not he discovered himself, had ever known him. Nor could it be in the power of man , so much as to surmise any corporal presence of his , under those appearances of bread, had not himself told it, and by way of preoccupation solved the doubt, For as if they had objected in their heart, and asked him, *Manhu*, what is this Lord, what is this white thing : *Hoc est corpus meum*, saith he , This is my Body : And again , *This is my blood in the New Testament*, &c.

If a man should be led by sens seperate from faith , all those that deny this real presence have a large advantage against Roman Catholicks , who beleev it : for it is very mysterious, and all the senses tumultuate against it. But if he be led by faith, seperate from sense ; then have Roman Catholicks as great an advantage against those that deny it. For these have no other argument for their denial , but
reason

reason as led by sence ; which is nothing like the Catholicks foundation, which is reason led by faith. The deniers say, it is a thing which God cannot do. But what man can tell what God can do? An Angel hath told us, *Non est impossibile apud Deum omne verbum* : The greatest wise men of the world have taught us, that God can do infinit things, above what we are able so much as to conceive or think. And reason it self dictates, that as sure as God is in heaven, he can do this, he can make his own words good. Hath not God said it : can he who is infinity of truth and power, affirm that to be which neither is nor can be. *It does not appear* : what then? He that can call light out of darkness, can surely make that to be, which appears not, and that which is not, to appear. Poor worm of a man ! thou waist as soon grasp the univers between thy five fingers, as comprehend what God can do. But to say it is not so, when he sayes it is, seemes an insolence unbecoming a poor mortal, that depends wholly upon his all sustaining hand. We belev Christ to be God ; or say so at least ; and yet what he clearly affirms, we flatly deny. But surely we cannot belev him in our hearts to be really and truly God. For God will not lie, he cannot deceiv. And the mystery may seem not true to them, and to them only, said a great Father long ago, who deny Christ to be true God.

Our evasions which say, that our Lord meant not any such literal truth as I now plead for, and ancient Christianity in former ages beleeved and practised, will appear anon by manifest circumstances, to be insufficient and forced. Ther be difficulties in the mystery ; it is true. But do not Roman Catholicks see them as well as wee? yes surely. For all the arguments brought by Anticatholicks against it, are culled out of the books of Roman catholick Doctors, who both invented, and solved those arguments long ago. Ther is not one argument made by any Protestant, against the real presence, not any one, but they know out of which of their catholick Divines he borrowed it. But

he takes the Argument, and triumphs and plaies with it, as if he had invented a reason, which silly Papists never heard of, and never heeds the solution there given in the same book, which is a sign, he is resolved to take none, whensoever it is given. Be the religion right, be it wrong, Parsons and vicars must colour it over, or els they will loose their benefices, and, which is worst, their wives. And what will not a man do to defend his own flesh and bones.

Why do *Roman Catholicks* beleeve this high mysterie, contrary or above the dictates of their senses? Because they beleeve Christ to be God: because God is omnipotent and cannot ly: because if they question this, they may as well doubt of any thing els, nay of every thing that is propounded us to beleeve, above that we see. That a little water for example should regenerate a child, and make him an inmate of heaven, this is a mysterie I think, and which as far surpasses either our senses or natural reason, as this other of the Eucharist. That Christ was conceived, and not only conceived but born also of a virgin, and his conception not only besides the cours of nature but above it, meerly by the word of an Angel, this is another mysterie, no less then that we treat of. For if Christ who is God, could become incarnate by a creatures word, surely he may become incorporat where he pleases by his own. That our Lord should be truly God, and yet die, by the hands of men, through the pains and anguish of his crucifixion, this is another mysterie, and no small one. For the beatifying all-powerfull deitie would surely, a man would think render his own bodie, assumed to such a societie, impenetrable, and immortal, not to be subdued or hurt by poor weak man. That this dead bodie of his, should revive again in the grave and com out thence, either through the earth or stones, and appear up and down for sortie daies together, and then mount up into the air without wings; all this is mysterious, and as fit matter for derision, if infidelitie be disposed to mock, as is the real presence, which is denied by

by many now a daies, and derided too by the same : That God has any special providence over mankind, notwithstanding the great confusions, that be upon the face of the earth, wherein the wicked and ungodly trample the just & upright under foot, and that almost in all times and places, nor is ther hardly any justice on earth to be found, nor any hand of God appearing to vindicat it in any place, this I take to be as frightfull a secret, as any whatsoever can be. And yet men pretend to beleev Gods providence notwithstanding : I am sure religion teaches to beleev it. That our bodies after so much dissolution, intermixture, dissipation, should be cemented again into a new and second life, and all the men that have ever lived and walked upon this earth, to be translated hence, soul and bodie united, into another world, is no less a Mysterie then any other. And several others are the *Mysterie of the Kingdom of heaven*, as our Lord himself phrases it : For which very reason, our Christian religion is called Faith. And all these mysteries the Catholick must needs desert, and utterly deny together, if he once forsake his beleef in any one. For upon the one and sole authoritie of the Revealer he holds all equally : and the same topick places, which serv to exclude any one of them, will remov them all. But why then do not we in *England* cast all away ? Fair and softlie, Parsons and vicars must not preach us out of all. To cast away som, is expedient for their own ends ; to reject all is prejudicial. By denying som they keep the old Catholick Clergie out of their former Bishopricks, parsonages and dignities, which themselves have invaded : by denying all, they should lose them, and be undone themselves.

But certainly ther is no particle of faith but may with as much right and probabilitie be questioned, as this wherof we now speak. And becaus Catholicks believ, they question nothing. He that saies, *How can this be*, or *This cannot be*, when God hath once said it is, he doubts, misbeleevs, and must needs implicitly affirm, and say in his heart,

heart, either that Christ never said it, or that Christ is not God, or that he said one thing and meant another, at the hour of his departure. All which things are equally indecent.

That all antient Christianity beleev'd, both that Christ said what we now treat of, and that Christ is God, and that he said and meant the same thing, is evidently demonstrated in several Catholick books, which are up and down the world in all Languages, and that so irrefragably, that he that is not wilfully obstinat, must needs submit? Those books, if any one would see this matter copiously treated, must be consulted. There he shall find all holy and renowned personages in all ages to admire the myserie, to adore the power and love and goodnes of the Almighty therein, to examine, and cleanse and sanctifie their consciences, that they may worthily approach so great a puritie, to prostrat at the feet of the Altar, and there to pour out their prayers to him, who in that strang peculiar manner, is pleas'd to reside amongst them, in all their necessities, &c.

The holy Fathers and renowned Prelates of the antient Church, what they thought of it, a carefull reader may easily collect, by the high appellations they give this myserie of the real presence, by the strang transmutation they acknowledg in it, by the wondrous effects they attribute to it, by the profound veneration they allow it, by the marvellous depth they beleev in it, and by the preheminent they afford it before all other things that were types therof.

As for *Appellation*: *Optatus*, *Ephrem* and *S. Chrysostom*, call it *Pretiosum Corpus*; *Pretium nostrum*; *Tremendum mysterium*; *Pignus salutis*: the Precious Body; Our ransom; a Myserie to be trembled at; the Pledg of our salvation.

As for acknowledged *transmutation*: *St. Cyril* and *St. Ambros* teach expressly, that ther is no bread at all remaining

maining after the change made, by Christs powerfull words, from bread into his own bodie: *S. Hillary* and *Epi-phanius* say, that our very senses are over-reached in this busines: *Theophylact* and *Nysenus*, That the bread is converted into Christs very flesh, as really, as if our Lord eating it up, had changed it by virtue of intrinsecal nutrition: *Cyrellus* and *Damascenus* compare it with the change of water into wine at the featt: *Justinus* and *Irenæus* require an omnipotent power to such a Myserie, as the Eucharist is.

As for the effects; Saint *Hillary* and *Nysenus* say, that Christ is united unto us corporally by the Eucharist. Saint *Irenæus* and *S. Hillary*, that our bodies by vertue of this union with the bodie of Christ, shall be enabled to rise again and fly up to him. *S. Cyrill*, that Christ our Lord is by this means conjoynd and concorporated with his be-leevers on earth, *reipsa*, really, and in very deed; Saint *Chrysostom*, that we have Christ with us in such a manner, as is impossible for pure man to give himself to any whom he loves. *S. Cyril*, that we are made by the Eucharist, *Divina consortes natura*, partakers even of the Divine nature.

As for Veneration, *S. Augustin* and *S. Ambros* adored the Sacrament: *S. Denys Arcopagite*, and *Naxian-zen* invocated it. *Tertullian* and *Origen*, provided with all care, it might not fall upon the ground. *S. Basil* and *Augustinus* would not let it be seen by Infidels. *S. Ambros* and *Chrysostomus* assures us, that the very Angels of God stood waiting at the Altar, when *Messach* or holy liturgy was celebrated.

As for the height and depth of this myserie, *Gaudentius* and *S. Ambros* said, it could not possible without faith be conceived or understood; *S. Cyril* and *Hillarins* do most earnestly exhort all Christians, not to suffer any doubt to rise within themselves, about that sublime Sacrament or the realitie and truth of it; *Tertullian* and *Origen*, would not

have it so much as spoken of, before catechumens and pagans; St. *Cyrl* and *Theophilact*, remit the incomprehensible manner of this mystery, only unto divine omnipotence.

As for *Collation and comparison* of this sacrament with other types and figures; St. *Cyprian* and *Ambros* do so prefer it before the Hebrews manna, the paschal Lamb, and shew-bread, as truth before figures; and a body before the shadow. St. *Ambros* and *Iustine Martyr* compare it with the very mystery of the Incarnation. St. *Chrysostom* with Christ lying in the manger. St. *Austin* with the Angels appearing in a corporal shape. St. *Cyprian* and *Tertullian* liken such as unworthily behave themselves towards the Eucharist, unto those Jews who put Christ to death.

By all this we may easily discern, how really the ancient Christians believed the real presence, and how they esteemed, honored, and admired, and adored it. They had bin none of all this, had it bin a meer naked signe, type, figur, or remembrance. I can institute such a thing my self, without any wonderment at all; I can appoint my friends, when I am a dying, or travel into a far countrey, to eat now and then a morsel of bread and cup of wine, in remembrance of me, till I recover or come back again. And although Christ be a greater person to be remembered, yet is the remembrance, and mode, and instituted sign, but the very same thing.

But methinks holy writ it self does sufficiently clear this particle of ancient Christianity, without any further help; if we do but only consider the figures of this sacrament, the expresse promis of it, and the institution and use thereof. These three things will sufficiently demonstrat, *that real presence* which catholicks beleev to be true Christian faith, however it be mysterious.

All types and figures which are shadows of events to come, must needs be inferiour to the things prefigured by them; as a shadow is less substantial then the body. But if

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the true body of our Lord be not present in the Eucharist, really present, then were those, which by consent of fathers and the whole Christian Church, were figures of it, either more excellent or equal at least to this our bread. Three sorts of bread prefigured this of our Eucharist: The bread that *Melchisedeck* brought forth to *Abram*, according to *St. Cyprian* and *St. Ambros*; the bread of proposition, or shew-bread, according to *S. Jerom* and *Damascentus*; and the bread that strengthened *Elias* to his forty daies journey. Now all these are equal to our bread of the Eucharist, if it be no other but real bread, with the adjunct of a type or sign annexed: Three other types, namely the paschal lamb, blood of the testament and manna, excell it: For a lamb is in nature more excellent and in figuration more clearly typifies the flesh of the Messias, the death of the Lamb, the death of Christ; and that eating, this; then bread can do. The blood of the Testament figures more significantly the blood of Christ then does any cup of wine. And Manna which was rained from heaven, made thereby the Ministerie of Angels, and conteining in it every savor that an eater could delight in, more fully represented Christ our Lord, who was the true bread from heaven, incarnate by the word of an Angel and is all in all to his beleevvers, then bread made by a Baker in an oven, which relishes nothing els, can do. Now that man^a was a figure of our Eucharist is not only affirmed by *St. Cyril*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Augustine* and all Christian writers unanimously, but expressly by *St. Paul* in his Letter to *Corinth*, and that we may not any way doubt it; even by Christ himself in his Gospel by *St. John*. That the paschal Lamb was a type also of the Eucharist, is taught by *Tertullian* and *St. Jerom*: Nor for other reasons did our Lord after the eating of the paschal Lamb, institute the Eucharist, but only to signifie that the type was then fulfilled. And that Lamb was both immolated and eaten, as Christ is in the sacrament, but not so in the Cross. And thirdly that the blood of the Testament
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prefigured this Eucharistical asperſion, is no leſs evident. For the Prieſt in the old Law ſprinkling the people ſaid theſe words, *Hic eſt ſanguis teſtamenti quod pepigit Dominus vobis cum*: In alluſion to which very words our Lord ſaid, *Hic calix novum teſtamentum eſt in meo ſanguine*, or as St. Matthew delivers it; *Hic eſt ſanguis meus novi teſtamenti*; And as *Moyſes* in that hiſ ſprinkling, added a law: So did our Lord another; *Mandatum novum do vobis ut diligatis invicem*. And this our Lords teſtament or laſt will was made, when he was now of his own power, and in his ſound ſenſes, before his death by a publick inſtrument of the Euchariftick ſpecies, and before witneſſes: none of which was don upon the croſs; where alſo properly he did not live but die. Thus much of the figures of the Eucharift, which are all either more excellent or equal to it; if it be but bare wine and bread with a ſign annexed to it.

The promiſe of the real preſence in the Eucharift, recorded at large by St. *John* in the ſixth chapter of his Goſpel, will yet more exalt this truth. For what can be ſpoken more plain then this. *The bread which I will give you is my own fleſh*; and that bread he there preferred before manna, which he could not rightly do, if it were only bakers bread, for Manna both in nature and ſignification was more excellent then it. Nay when the Jews there objected and told Chriſt, that *Moyſes* obtained Manna from heaven; but *what ſign*, ſaid they, *dost thou ſhew, that we may believe in thee?* Chriſt our Lord repelled, that he would give them from heaven the true bread indeed, meaning his body. And this he recounted as a greater miracle then that of *Moyſes*. But it is I conceive no miracle at all to ſubſtitute a little bakers bread to be eaten now and then in remembrance of him. Nor have we any more by this, then had the fathers in the wilderneſs: for they in their Manna, if all things happened to them in figures, apprehended Chriſt by faith. Indeed if Chriſt our Lord had there intended no
more

more, when he said, *I will give you my flesh to eat*, and *my flesh is meat indeed*, &c. but only the eating of bread in remembrance of him, or his hearers had so understood him, neither would the *Capharnaits* have murmured at his words, nor his disciples, som of them have fallen from him, as they did. It had bin easie for Christ to salve, by only saying, that *he spoke figuratively*, which notwithstanding although it wer to save their souls, he would not do; but ratified his former words and made them yet harder. *Doth this scandalize you*, saith he, *what will you do when you see the son of man ascending up whither he was before*. This speech of his evidently declares, that Christ would have his former words ratified, and that in their proper and literal sense. And it is as much as if he had said: you are now incredulous, whilest remaining amongst you, I tell you, that I will give you my flesh to eat, what will you then do, what will you think, when a greater occasion of incredulitie shall be administred, by my departure hence; when you shall see me ascending up into heaven, and thither carrying my bodie with me, which here I promise notwithstanding to give you all to eat. How can you then beleeve, that my bodie carried hence can yet still be with you, which now whilest my said bodie is amongst you here on earth, you think impossible: yet shall this ere long happen; you shall som of you with your eyes see me corporally ascending: And yet still ther will be a faithfull people upon earth even to the worlds end, who even then after my corporal ascension will beleeve these words of mine, when there shall be greater difficultie of beleeving administred by my corporal absence; and firmly acknowledg only because I have said it, that they have my bodie present with them in the Eucharist. Concerning this promise of the real presence I need say no more.

If we com to the institution, and effecting of this strang mysterie, which the better to dispose his disciples to an humble faith and resignation, he had so long before both fore-
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told and promised, the busines is cleer and utterly out of doubt. The solemn preparatory washings so carefully set down by the Evangelists, give us sufficiently to understand, no such thing being ever don by Christ before, that some great venerable action was near: the punctual expression of all his words, and gesturs, made so carefully by his Apostles, speak a work extraordinarie. He sat down himself, his Apostles orderly placed round about; he composed himself, and them also by his example, with all possible gravitie and reverence; he took bread into his hands, and with a most divine devotion cast up his eys to heaven the source of power and grace; he blest it, seriously and powerfully blest it; and then said: *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my bodie, &c. Lord: might any of them think, How can this be. Did he not take up bread in his hands? And was it not bread still after it was taken up? How coms he then to say of it, that it is his bodie, his very bodie given for us, his very blood shed for us. But he hath said it; and this is that great mysterie he hath so often told us of since we first followed him. He has made great preparations for this great work, and very serious and solemnly he acts and speaks. We beleev, although we comprehend not the waies of the Almighty: he is our Lord and maister.

And truly, whether we consider before whom and unto whom our Lord spake and acted all this; or in what time and place, or about what affair; we shall easily beleev that he spake not figuratively, but in rigorous and proper words, which must needs so mean as they sound, and be so understood as the very syllables in their literal meaning signifie.

He spake to his Apostles, and to them only, who as they were simple and innocent men, so also were they his immediate Disciples, by whom after his departure all the world was to be instructed. And these disciples of his, it behoved they should be taught with naked and simple words; least circumvented by topical and improper locution in an affair of so great importance, they should fall them-

themselves into error, and beguile the whole world with them. And this Christ our Lord, if he were truly God, could not but foresee. Nor could he, if he did foresee it, do less out of his great wisdom and goodness, than provide some way or other, against such enormous error. And so indeed he ever used to do. *To you*, saith he to his disciples, *it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to others in parables that seeing they may see and not understand*: Where we may note by the way, that the religion and doctrine of Christ contained mysteries in it, wherof this in hand is one, as may appear by what I have already said. And it had been very easie here for Christ our Lord, in a word or two, as he used to do in his parables and mystical locutions, to let them know, that this speech, wherby both present and future ages might be scandalised, was parabolical and figurative: And since they were delivered in such a time and place where the Apostles were then the first and last time to partake that sacrament at his hands, and never after to hear him speak thereof, absolutely necessary.

If any should here say, that Christ enlightned his Apostles to discern; that his meaning was parabolical; I answer first, that this was not Christs method or manner of teaching his disciples, while they were in their probation and exercise of beleef: Nor did he ever, whilst himself remained amongst them, give them any such illumination, till after his resurrection and ascension into heaven, when he sent the holy Ghost amongst them. I reply secondly, that it could no whit avail Christs Church, so to open his Apostles senses, except posterity knew either by their writings or tradition that they had such a meaning revealed unto them, which we do not know and indeed never heard of.

Nay on the contrary, that the Apostles understood those their masters words, *This is my body*, in their native and proper sence, we may by this one thing be sufficiently persuaded,

swaded : For that all of them were so cautious and diligent, whereas in other things they set down generally not so much the very words as the sense, here to describe still in this particular, ever and in all their writings wherein they had occasion to speak of this affair, either the Apostles or their successors, the very self-same words of our Lord, most timorously and exactly, without any kind of mutation. *I deliver*, saith S. Paul, *that which I received*, and as I received it to wit, that our Lord the night he was betrayed took bread, and blessed and brake, and said, this is my body &c. This do ye &c. So likewise the chalice &c. How warily exactly and punctually does he utter what he received, not daring to adde or diminish any the least apex or iota in so weighty and serious a business !

The time wherein he acted these things, and the matter wherof he spake, no less required a proper single and natural locution, without either trope or figur. For he was now at his last act. And the business he then delivered was both a law, a sacrament, a pact, and a great dogme of faith. A law ; for he said expressly, *Accipite, comedite, hoc facite*. And that it was a sacrament none will deny, that it had in it the nature of a last will and testament, is no less plain in Gospel, as also that it was a pact or covenant or conditional testament, and a promise of life and grace to such as partake worthily ; and withall a dogme of Christian faith, needs not any declaration. And all these use to be express in plain significant usual and familiar words.

Even dogmes of faith are commonly delivered in proper words, as containing things either to be believed, hoped or practised. And in them tropes and figures have no place, unless it be either in prophecies, to obscure a thing, or in collaudations to adorn a matter or in exhortations to amplify it. But because a dogme of faith is not by vulgar people easily perceived, when it is a naked dogme, as this *God is one*, or when it is molested with a trope, as this, *God is a consuming fire* ; nor yet when a dogme of faith is purely

purely delivered, as to say, Christ is true, and when a figure of faith is explicated, as when for example it is said, *The rock is Christ*; therfor do I not much insist upon the clearnes of dogmes. But without all doubt this consideration is of force, even concerning them, when one and the same thing is both a dogme of faith, and a law, and a pact or covenant, and a sacrament, and a testament together: all which concur in the institution of the Eucharist. And especially if such a dogme, law, pact, testament be never delivered but only in one time and place, and upon the legislatur and testatours death, as this was.

Pacts and covenants they are for certain made in exquisite and wary words, to prevent cavils, as likewis are the words of a law most plain, to obstruct occasion of prevarication and abuses, and set down with all possible perspicuity. So likewis institurion of sacraments both of the old law and new expiations, sacrafices, and other rites, are ever as clear and vulgar as pen can make them or tongue express. Christ indeed when he spake to *Nicodemus*, of the power of baptism, used the phrase of renaissance, regeneration or being begotten and born again by water: But there he does not institute a sacrament, but by way of a preacher declares its power, nor does he speak the essence, but effect of that sacrament.

Finally that last wills and testament are ever perspicuous and plainly set down, and in their plain proper sence to be interpreted is manifest both by civil law which hath so ordained, *n. de Legatis l. Non aliter*; and also by custom, which ever so understands them. Nor may any man bequeathing a hundred pound to his friend by his last will be thought to mean it of a sign of a hundred pound, or so many counters so orderly set upon a table, that they may stand for so much: And lastly by natural reason: For otherwise there would be no certainty in the affairs of last wills; but occasion of quarrel administred with out end. Nor may any grave sober man that is in his sound senses,
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be thought to equivocate or use ironies and ambiguous speeches in his last will and testament, which is made on purpose to compose and settle all things seriously.

All this put together infers that thole last words of Jesus Christ, *This is my body*, containing both a dogme of faith, and pact, and precept, and sacrament and testament too, must needs be understood in their familiar and literal sense: and consequently that the real Presence is as certain a doctrine, as any part of Christianity: and he that denies it, may with equal probability deny all.

I would fain see that article of Christian beleef, which I cannot elude by som trope or figur, improprietic of locution or interpretation, with as much plausibilitie, as this is here; and yet not tortur and perplex my self neither, by studying and thinking of it, till the devil com to help me out, as *Suinglin* the grand Sacramentarian was furthered by righty instruction with a trope, to interpret thole words, *Hoc est corpus meum* against their catholick meaning, from such a monitor, that he knew not himself whether he was black or white.

Nor do the words of Christ afford an argument for the Real Presence, but his gesturs also are in my mind no less efficacious a proof for it, than his words; especially that his one act of solemn benediction; when lifting up his hands he blessed both the bread and chalice. And to give that act a greater emphasis, the Evangelists not only mention his benediction, but tell us also that he did both *ἔλαλει* and *ἔλογισεν*: And that we may beleev this his benediction was no less material than his words, the apostles after him was no less punctual to observ and imitate as well the one as the other. *Τὸ ποτήριον τῆς ἑλογίας ὁ ἑλόγισεν*, *The chalice of benediction which we bless*, saith S. Paul, &c. Hence our S. *Justin Martyr* calls that bread *ἁγίασμα ἑλογισμένον*, blessed and sanctified meat. Now ther needed no such solemn benediction of God for the institution of a sign. Nor did our Lord ever use either *ἔλαλει* or *ἔλογισεν*.

to bless any thing, but that wheron he wrought some wonder: as when he raised *Lazarus*, and multiplied the loaves. For when God blesses he renews nature; and his curse destroys it; as appears in the fig-tree which by his curse withered. For this reason baptismal water, whose nature was not changed, he blessed not.

No less observable it is, that our Lord should say of the bread so blessed, *This is my body which for you is given*. This chalice is a new testament in my blood, which for you is shed. A sufficient argument, first that it was now by his divine benediction become his own very body given, and blood shed for mankind. For if it had been really bread and wine still, it had been something given to them for to eat, something effused to them for to drink, and not effused and given for them, or immolated sacrificed and offered to God for their and our reconciliation. Secondly that it was then immolated offered and effused in that very Eucharistian sacrifice; in that he says, it was his blood then shed, his body then given for them. Though it was the same body which should afterwards also be given, and blood which was to be shed, yet our Lord chose rather to speak in the present tense, because then it was given and shed in that incruent oblation, not to them but to the Almighty God for them. And this is the Christian Messias, whereof I shall speak more anon. And his apostles after him, were all to imitate him in that act of his, both in his words and gestures, and do the like; Thus much for the institution.

The use of this sacrament and sacrifice, after our Lords departure, made by his Apostles according to his precept and command, does so perspicuously speak this real Presence, that I do not know aught in any law, usage or history, either of God or man, to be more clearly delivered. The chalice of benediction which we bless, saith *S. Paul* in his letter he wrote to *Corinth*, is it not a communication of the blood of Christ, and the bread which we break

is it not a communication of the body of Christ. These words are as plain and perspicuous as any ever spoke by God or man; and do as fully averr the real Presence, as do those, *God made heaven and earth* declare the creation: Nay I think more emphatically. For such like interrogatories are more smart and quick, than plain asseverations be. Hear others, sith plainer none can be, as plain and positive as they. *He*, saith the same Apostle, *that eateth unworthily, eateth judgment to himself, not discerning our Lords body*. If that body were not truly there, no man could be blamed for not discerning it there, or not believing that which is not, or not behaving himself worthy of a Presence which is not there to be found. And indeed, if to eat our Lords body, wer only to feed upon him by faith, as som Anticatholicks speak, then could no man eat unworthily. For he must receiv worthily who receives Christ by faith. And if he receiv not worthily, he receives not at all.

This mystery then of the real Presence is Gospel; it is the institution of Christ; the doctrin and practis of the Apostles; and faith of the Church catholick. And he that beleevs it not, can give no other reason for his incredulity, but only this; that he understands not how it can be; which is but the old plea of Jews and Pagans. *Quomodo potest hic nobis carnem suam dare ad manducandum*, How can this man give us his flesh to eat said they. But he that will be my disciple, saith Christ our Lord, must deny himself, not me.

This may suffice for declaration of this particule of Christianity as to matter of fact, that it is and must be so.

The method and modes of defending the possibility of this mystery, have bin, as all things left to reason are; not uniform but various. The antient Christian clergy in the first ten ages of the Church, never troubled themselves any further, then only to make good, against either the scoffing of Jews or prating Philosophy of Pagans, who
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joyntly derided this their faith of the real Presence, these two propositions; first, that God can make a thing appear to be, which is not, secondly that he cannot make that not to appear which is. And these two assertions, which absolutely clear the possibility of the Mystery, it were no difficult matter to maintain. The incongruities which the Pagans brought against it, wherof the chiefest was, the eating of their own God, were more easily solved; the matter of fact could not by any Pagan be argued against, much less confuted.

But now since our divinity schools came up, which rose about the twelfth age of the Church, many catholick writers define and declare this mystery by an Aristotelian way, which embroyles them in a thousand difficulties altogether inextricable, and the insisting upon his philosophy, which is in many things fals, and for the most part verbal, in the defence of their Christianity, proves sometimes a grand lettaunce and enormous prejudice to faith. And so hasty be some men in their wayes, that now ther is no possibility, if we beleeve them, for any one to be a Christian, unless he become an Aristotelian first. Do you not beleeve say they, that accidents are really distinct in nature, from substances. Do you not beleeve, that an accident may be without a subject, that quantity may be without extention, that a body is in a place by circumscription of the ambient? Then you are no Christian. Thus wild are men now becom in these dayes of desolation: which if the antient catholick priests, who hated and condemned *Aristotle* should now sit upon the stage of this world again behold a fresh, it would strike them into an amazement.

One thing I am sure of; that ther be more difficulties hatched and laid upon this one article of faith, by our mingling it with *Aristotles* philosophy, about circumscriptions, locations, quantities, realities, accidents, separabilities, terminations, penetrations, extentions, inextentions, figurations, magnitudes, situations, and the like Aristotelian parretisines,

then former catholick Priests ever knew, about the whole body of Christianity put together; who, as I have already said, never troubled themselves about this point any further, then only to make good, that which no man is able to confute, namely, that it is possible with God, to make that appear which really is not, and that not to appear which really is. And the Gospel verifies both these truths, in the one example of Christs appearing in the form or species of a Gardiner; which might make them more bold both to affirm and maintain it. Nor needed they to fear any argument against it. But now people talk of accidents without a subject, of quantity without extension, of penetrations, dimensions and I know not what sophistries, which religion is not at all concerned in, so resolute and strongly, in their defence of ancient faith, as if they laboured not to clear religion but imbroil it, not to defend faith but philosophy. The Schools were set up to teach men to speak *ad hominem*, and defended our Christianity against any opposition of Aristotelian Pagans, and in that way we see it may be don; either in the method of *St. Thomas, Scotus* or other Schools: But the Church never intended any should be bound to make good their holy faith only those wayes; or to defend those wayes as infallible truths in the defence of their most assured faith. I suppose Christ may stand, though *Aristotle* fall. It is probable enough in good Philosophy, that accidents are nothing in reallity, but the very substance of things inadequately understood. And he that defends together with his faith of the real Presence in the Eucharist, a phisical distinction of accidents from natural substance, does but defend a probable falsehood, together with a certain truth.

With this I have thought good to acquaint my countrey men in *England*, that they may know, ther be not indeed any such difficulties, in the simplicity of catholick faith, as unwary men give them occasion to conceive. Faith is still one and the same it was in times of old, in the Roman catholick Church, although the modes of declaring it be dif-

fering : which when they are unwarily applyed, prove rather to its hurt sometimes, then any advantage. But this is incident to humanity. The nature we bear about us, is frail and rash, and having once got a custome, seldome reflects upon the inconvenience it brings. Som ancient learned men in the first five ages of the Church, tampered so much with *Plato* and his doctrine, that it began to mingle with their Christian writings, and so remained, till the spirit of the Church, sweat it out. But *Aristotle* has been a long time in a more solemn and general esteem than ever *Plato* was ; and has publick schools set up all the world over to exercise Christians in the defence of their religion, against all sorts of pagan arguments, indeed with so much applaus and approbation now, that it is no marvel that students so deeply imbewed with his conceptions, should discern so few of them the simplicity of their Christian faith, wonderfully now a dayes intangled and interwoven with philosophy in the cours of their studies. But the spirit of the same mystick body will at length sweat out these rank gross humors of *Aristotle*, as is hath don those other more aiery ones of *Plato*.

And here we may take notice, that no general Council kept in Christendom either before or since the erection of this Philosophy in the Christian world, would ever permit those *Aristotelian* words and phrases, so long as they had any other words then vulgarly understood, to enter, as far as possibly they could prevent it, into their conciliar decisions. The very last Council of *Trent* celebrated in such a time, when the words and terms of *Aristotle* were grown as familiar, especially amongst the clergy and learned men as any vulgar speech, did with so much industry and care avoid them, that no sound of accidents, habits, qualities or the like *Aristotelian* phrases, would be permitted to intermingle in their expressions. Indeed the *Roman* Catechise drawn afterward by som learned men by the command of the Council uses familiarly to express their

minds by such *Aristotelian* words. But *loquimur cum vulgo, sapimus cum sapientibus*. It sufficed them to speak with the vulgar, and any way that was then in use to declare their meaning.

§. 18. Confession.

IF ther be any thing unfavoury, bitter and contrary to nature in the *Roman* religion, I thought Confession to be it: which also may not be thought so much opposit to natural inclination on the Penitents side, as it may be seen on his who sits to assoil from sin, derogatory in a manner to divine right. As God only searches hearts, and by his own peculiar power acquits from sin; so neither does man love to have his heart laid open to any els, but him alone from whom he can not conceal it. I therfor wondered as soon as leaving *Holland* I came into Catholick countreys, to see people all the three nations I successively came into, flock so universally, so continually, so greedily to confession in their Churches.

And it was not only Children and fools that wer thus brought to tell truth; not the poor only and silly people flocked to that act, but the noblest wisest & greatest of the people, bowed their knees as cheerfully as any others, unto that humble duty: Nay Priests themselves and Bishops, who assoil others, do prostrate themselves with as free and full devotion, as far as one that passes by, may by the continuance of their confession intermingled sighes and beating of their breast make any probable conjectur, as any or more then any other of the Layty. And all do it with as much care and earnestnes, as any good housewife scowes her kettle, wherein she is to dress her meat. I speak from my heart, I was astonished to see it. Especially when I perceived it to be so uniform an inclination in all Catholick people: as if it were not a duty imposed upon natur, but a propension ingrafted in it, Faith and Love causing it seems
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a very burthen to be easie, and a yoke light. But my admiration increased, when I heard that religious people, whose hours are so ordered both for night and day, that ther is not a minut left them for their own disposal, in this they are to read, in the next to pray, in the third to work, &c. even these people who had hardly time left them to think a-miss, found so much by their frequent perusal of spiritual books, which set before their eyes the pattern of Jesus for their imitation, so much of imperfection, so much of deviation in themselves, that where men that live in the incumbrances of this sinfull world go to confession once, they go five times, and if I had said ten, I had not exceeded. Thus doth exact introspection find blemishes in the stars, which by iterated resolves of greater care of purity are depurated and cleansed by degrees, till they com to shine like the sun in the firmament, to all eternity.

Truth is, I did not then like this busines of Confession, or if I did any wayes allow it in my heart, it was but a cold conditional and faint approbation: and the less I loved it, the more I wondered at the earnest, frequent and even gluttonous, as I may so say, and greedy use I saw made of it, in all sorts of people in Catholick Kingdoms.

But as soon as I could be able to lay aside the prejudice, which custom, education, and the judgment of my own Countrey had brought upon me, I began by little and little to discern that such a work might be both reasonable on his side, who declared his own misdemeanors, and on his part who absolved the self-accusing plaintiff, upon promise of reparation and amendment in the behalf and place of God, not impious.

In all our neighbourhoods we see here in *England*, if any be offended or hurt, it is som eas of heart to speak of it; And I have known not a few, that by the very guidance of natur, would blame themselves, and talk of it to their friends, with dislike and much regret, when they had themselves don unadvisedly, and found not a little eas of heart by it; whilst those very friends they spake unto, looked

upon them in the *interim*, as men actually conscientious, and such, as though they were not yet in the height of perfection, walked in a method of improving it. For often reflexion makes men tread more secure; and he that so dislikes an error, and defect of vertue and prudence in himself, as openly to blame it, may justly be presumed, not so easie to fall either into that fault again, or any other, as he that goes still on, without any reflection; as a horse and mule without any understanding.

But over and above this natural benefit of easing the heart, by disgorging that which troubles it, and imprinting severall good reflections of caution in the spirit, religious and Christian confession hath yet other comforts peculiar to it self. As first, that it is don out of several good motives of piety, for the love of God, out of dislike of sin as offensive to him, for fear of his anger, desire of his blessing and favour, and in pursuit of those eternal habitations above, where no polluted thing can enter, and finally out of obedience to his holy will and lawes, who they beleev commanded it: Secondly, that it is don in order to that healing application of sacerdotal absolution; which accompanied on one side with the penitents humble acknowledgment that is to forego, and a just reparation that follows, makes the atonement and reconciliation perfect.

And truly to utter my own faults when they are troublesome within my breast, is but nature; to discover them to a friend is but a neighbourly familiarity; to lay them open to a good and wise man, who may either comfort or advise me according to my need is prudence: to dislike, censure, disallow, and revoke them, as they are injurious, is justice; to condemn them and my self for them, as they are offensive to divine nature and essential goodness, is perfect piety; in brief, to aggravate the hainousnes, and in a godly revenge, as I may so speak, submit my self to any penal satisfaction, according as I may beleev Christ Jesus hath

himself ordeined, in order to grace and a full and perfect reconciliation, is the greatest accomplishment of safety, bliss and comfort, that any one can desire in this world, who endeavours to walk with God.

But whether any such sacrament or usage hath been a-foretime in the Christian world, as ordained by Jesus Christ the head of subministration and influence to that holy Catholick body, is now a dayes in this latter age of the Church becom a question.

Many of the former Protestant writers, as *Conradus Schlusfelburg*, *Althamer*, *Lobechius*, *Melanchton*, maintained Confession, this I mean, which is made to man, who sits in place of Christ to absolv penitents, as a divine and Apostolical institution: *Luther* and *Calvin* speak sometimes for it, and then again as violently against it; according as their speech was levelled, either against som of their own company, who could not be ruled by them, or against the Catholick body, by which they had refused to be ruled themselves. The Century writers in *Germany*, whose work it was to note the prevalency of Popish corruptions in all ages, moved by the writings of *S. Cyprian*, *Tertullian*, and other ancient Fathers acknowledg that custom to have bin very rise even in those Fathers daies; but will have it an erroneous mistake both of those and the succeeding ages; so that even by this account it must have bin a practice amongst Christians this fourteen hundred years now in the world. And that it was of frequent use even in the primitive times of the Church, is sufficiently evident by that notorious calumny of the Gentiles, laid upon the Christians in those times, whom by way of mocking they publickly traduced to worship their Priests genitals: so they pleased to slander and misname that sacred action of Confession, which the Christians then practised before their Priests, upon their knees. This both *Tertullian* and *Minutius Felix* testify.

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somewhat above an hundred years, that Confession was then in use all over the Christian world in one and the same uniformity of practice, there needs no other proof thereof then the writings of those very reformers, *Luther*, *Calvin* and the rest, who profess openly, that in this no less then other points of their reformed faith they left the whole world. And the Catholick world was then larger in circumference and extent, through *Asia* and *Europe* not a few thousand miles, then now it is; *England*, *Ireland*, *Denmark*, and all our Northern Islands, now divided from that ancient practice and religion, which was then of that Faith, without any variety or division, either in this point of Confession or any other. And the Reformers cut and slashed this parcel of ancient faith, as one of the most displeasing sores of that Epidemical malady of Popery, which had then possessed the world, with as much fiercenes as they were able to put on, calling it, some of them the Tyburn of poor souls, *Carnificinam & laqueum animarum*. For such severities of humiliation, examination of conscience, self-accusation and penances, stood incompatible to their purposes, who for liberties love had shaken them off themselves, and must have others to do so too, els they were undone. Nay for that reason they took away the real presence, and all observancies that attended it; that people having nothing now before their eyes, to fright them into fearfull preparations, might be more jocund and free, more blichy and buxom then they were afore, and finding nought either to do or think concerning God, but only hear them preach, and beleeve what they said, might have both will & leisure enough, all other thoughts now removed, to provide more plentifully both for their carkasses and their own. But to perswade sensual nature to a libertin loosnes, whereunto it self inclines, is a labour, if it be any at all, a very easy one. Right religion restrains corrupt nature, and he that sets it loos, is Antichrist.

I cannot but think that Christ our Lord had some special

cial fight of the soul of man, and a conception of it, which few of those which swerv from the ancient rites of Christianity are aware of. Sacred Gospel and Apostolical writings, so oft as I ponder them seriously, make me think so. For he spake of the soul, as an inmate of another natur, origin and birth, then our body is, saved by that which destroys this, and by that sometimes destroyed, which natural men conceiv to refresh and cherish the life and vigour of their bodies. And therupon he instituted sacraments, which are indeed the great prerogative and happines of Christianity, whereby this celestial mind or soul within us, might have its own being and welfar, birth, growth, continuance of life, reparation of health and compleat soundnes in its issuing soorth of these earthly tabernacles. Baptisme is the Laver of its regeneration: Confirmation and imposition of hands strengthen, and set it upon its legs: Eucharist feeds and refreshes it in its proper life: Penitence, which consists of sorrow, confession and restitution, recovers that life and health, which sin abolishes: Sacred uncti- on helps lesser maladies, when the soul is leaving its pilgrimage, & flits to its own place, & repairs sometimes the thred of union with the body, which was well nigh broken: And as Matrimony is blest for natural propagation, so is sacred Ordination instituted for the segregation of som speciall persons, unto the cure and service of this eternal mind, which is in man. So that here is an æconomy proper and peculiar to the soul, our invisible immortal soul, mind, or spirit, which subsists and breaths wholly in its own sphere, and spiritual manner, and may live, as I said before, by that which kills the body, and by that which preserves our flesh, be utterly lost. He that loves his soul in this world, saith our great maister, shall loose it, and he that looses it for my sake, shall preserv it unto a blis eternal. *This is grandis sermo*, worthy of all serious consideration. And by it we may conclude, that he that took away penitential contrition, confession and absolution, which the great Lord
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of Spirits instituted for the souls health, was guilty of more then man-slaughter.

Som may here haply say, the word of God is the life and food and health of the soul. I know it is afar off, as the only conveigher of those counsels of vertue, sacraments and means of grace, which imediatly sustein it, and which could not without that word revealed be either applyed or known. But he that rests in the words of a Phisition, without using the means of health which he comends & orders to be used, if he be such a phisitian, as both gives the first life, and preserves and recovers it, as Christ our Lord is beleevd to be, he shall never live; and if he have life shall not preserv it; and if he hath once lost, shall never recover it. If the soul indeed be a substance spiritual, and a nature subsisting of it self, it cannot live by words only, no more then the body can be preserved by hearing one talk of meat and phisick. And that man or nation which rejects the means of life, both commended and commanded too by the word of him, who came to save souls, let him hear this or that man talk of the word never so much, he shall proceed gradually to infidelity, till he come to doubt even of Christ himself, and deny his own immortality; and his preacher of the word is in no better condition.

Five things move me to think that penitential confession is of divine institution. First, the reformation, when it rose, found it then practized all over the Christian world. Secondly, becaus the antient council of *Carthage* and the council of *Laodicea* above a thousand years ago, and very great and most antient fathers, *St. Ephren*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *S. Gregory Nyssen*, *Athanasias*, *Basil*, *S. Jerom*, *S. Chrysostom*, *S. Augustin* and *Bede* make clear mention of this sacramental confession, made to Christian priests; nor can there any beginning of it be found out. Thirdly, becaus the action in it self is so difficil and contrary to corrupt nature, that if it had not been from the beginning, it could never have been introduced. Fourthly because it is so usefull and comfortable,

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that it could not possibly issue but from som divine extraordinary hand, which blesses and sweetens it. But this no man knows or will beleeve, but he only who tastes it. Lastly because holy Gospel and the Apostles writings so clearly witness it, that no rational evasion can be made.

In the Gospel of S. *Matthew* the sixteenth chapter, a promise of the Keys is made to S. *Peter*; in the eighteenth chapter, the promise is made to the other Apostles: In the twentieth chapter of S. *John*, the same power of the Keys is actually conferred. What can all this mean? S. *Augustin*, who lived in the midst of the Church, and shined himself like a star within it, guided both by tradition which he had received, and practice which he beheld in the same Church in his own dayes, taught that so much power was thereby conferred to Christian priests of absolving penitents from their sins conferred, that he beleeved no man ever entered heaven, without the means of that power; and that som Christian souls wer lost only for want of a Priest by them, unto whom they might confess, and by whom they might be absolved, when they died. And generally he puts no less necessity of penitential absolution, then of baptismal washing, as any one may see, which shall read attentively either his 20th. book *de civitate*, or his 118. 179. 180. Epistles. All antiently beleeved with him, that confession made to a Priest and his sacerdotall absolution, was a means after baptism so necessary for a sinner, to a gracious reconciliation with God, that according to Gods ordinary power and providence, it could not be had without it. And they had this their opinion confirmed in them, by the constant uninterrupted practice of Christian people throughout the world.

And to say, that this power of binding and loosning sin is only an authority of preaching remission, which God gives the repentant, and to the impenitent denies, is a fond and wrested interpretation of the first reformers, who indavoured to superinduce a general negligence and dissolutenes

lutenes upon mankind, the better to countenance and colour their own, and to make all religion consist in the one and only work of hearing them talk in a pulpit: For Keys are not given to declare a door shut or open, but to open and shut it; into which but by the use of the Key none can enter. For if there be another entrance the Keys are in vain. Likewise to bind or loos, is to take off or put on bonds, and not to signifie a man loos or bound: nor does Christ our Lord say, whose sinnes ye remit, they *were* remitted, but they *are* remitted; so that they declare, not what was don before, but authoritatively do that which they declare. And it is to be noted, that Christ had sent his Apostles up and down to preach, long before he conferred this great power of the keys upon them, for a higher and more solemn purpose. Unto the work of preaching he barely sent them; but this power of assoyling from sin he breathed upon them; as a thing which none could do but by a more singular and special virtue of his own spirit, whose right and property it is to blot out and dissipate, assoil and purge the spots and ordur of transgression. And this power he had publickly himself exercised, even in the hearing and sight of the *Jews*, in whose eyes Christ was as meer a man as *Peter* or *John*, as an act distinct from his preaching. And although the *Jew* murmured and cavilled, saying, even as we in *England* do, *how can man forgive sins*, yet he made it good before them, both by word and deed; that man might have authority conferred upon him to do it. *That you may know*, saith he, *that the son of man hath power to forgive sins*, rise, saith he to a poor cripple, *rise and walk*, manifesting that invisable power which they denied, by an effect of a visibible one, which they could not gainsay. And he expressees himself by the name of the son of man; that they might know it was a gift, not so incompatible to mans natur, but that God, if he pleased, might conferre it upon him. And *scit nistit me Pater* saith he to his Apostles, *as my father* *scnt me so do I send you*; on the same errand, with the same

same commission and power, derived from my self: that the like means of salvation may be present unto all generations of beleivers.

And where lies the difficulty? Is it, that Christ had no such power? or that he could not conferr it upon the Apostles? or that he did not? or that meer man is incapable to receive it? or that the Apostles had it from him, but either did not, or could not derive it unto them, who succeeded them in their care and Priesthood: we ought to think seriously where the difficulty lyes, and not talk at random against a sacred custom and doctrine, as old, as usefull, as comfortable, as necessary, as behoofesfull, as any other particle of Christianity.

God the Almighty ever blessed and most good and wise, we may easily see, if we would seriously ponder things, that ordinarily he works nothing either in the *series* of nature or of supernatural things, but by second causes. All the influences both of nature and grace com so. God could do all immediately by himself: but he is pleased to work otherwise, and who shall gainsay him: we are neither born nor sustained, but by means that work under God, at his appointment and word, without which notwithstanding he could if he pleased, make us both to be and live. And in religion we are no less regenerated, fed, educated, healed by one another; according to that rule and order of things, which Jesus the great Maister appointed amongst men, than we be in nature. And the ends of all these links and chains, both of our corporal and spiritual welfare, are tyed as it were to the throne of the Almighty, from whom all power both natural and supernatural must issue. And his own ends, whether absolute or conditional he will have effected, by the prescribed rules of his incomprehensible providence; whose lynes and meanders are infinite. All may live both kind of lives, by the means ordained by God; but not without them. And if some starve and dy, in the line either of grace or nature, they escape not for that
out

out of the latitude of providence; but like a flye in a net, if they slip one thread, they are caught in another. But nothing is ordinarily don in the world, without the means of second causes, prescribed by God, the first sours of all kind of life. And if it were otherwise, there had been no need either of the first *Adam* or the second; of the first, for the derivation of our natural being, or of the second, for our life of grace: Nor yet either of our corporal food or sacraments. But we see our selves, that we are born, nourished, preserved, cured in both our lives, by the prescribed means, and not without them. Though in this we owe more to the second *Adam*, then to the first. For besides the natural means of life commonly known to mankind, we had no rules of phisick, that I know, delivered us by the first *Adam*, to the use and benefit of his posterity. But the second *Adam*, after he had declared the mode of baptismal regeneration, he signally and expressly told how that spiritual life were to be fed, how to be preserved in health, how to be strengthened in weakness, how to be helped in sickness, and commended at length to an eternity of being, in felicity above. And all this was to be don by means of second causes which himself appointed. And this was the reason, that moved *S. Augustin* to think, that many Christian souls were lost for want of a Priest by them, to absolve them in the hour of their departur, and remit those sins, which they might find afterwards remitted in heaven. It is not to be doubted, but God can give grace and life to the soul immediatly, and without any means: But it is dangerous to tempt God and neglect the means he hath set. He that said to his Priests under him, *whose sins ye remit are remitted*, seems to say, if *S. Augustin* understood him right, or I *St. Augustin*, that they are not ordinarily remitted otherwise. And though God doth sometimes use his extraordinary power in preserving both the soul and body; so that above hope we are to trust in him, yet must no man presume or expect miracles. God Almighty, though he

be the author of all life, both that of nature and the other of grace, yet he neither gives, nor preserves, nor restores, either this or that, ordinarily and without a miracle he does not, but by means of his own, ordained by himself.

We are scandalized, and aske how man can forgive sins. Principals, and as first author of grace, no man ever imagined he could, ministerially and by commission from Christ, who had that power from God, I do not see, why he may not. Is it a greater thing to forgive sin, then to repair nature? So Jesus Christ argued against the Jews; thereby implying if I understand him right, that however the powers may differ, yet in order to him who gives them, it is all one thing. And yet the very elements and herbs and plants by Gods order and commission repair nature, which without that commission they could never do. For man lives not by bread alone, but chief and principally, by the will and word of God, who ordained bread to give and repair life. And by his word it does it. Our very daily nutrition is a work of wonder: That bread, for example, should, converted into a liquid chile run all over the body, and restore so many differing substances, flesh, bones, nerves, muscles, eye, ear, and porous tongue, &c. And it could never do it, but by the power of him, who commanded it so to do. *O but sin and grace is of another kind*; it is so, and therfor are the means of abolishing sin of another order too. Nature does not help sin, neither doth that which heals sin repair nature. *O but man is still but man.* It is true, and therfor he assoyles not sin by any property or power that is in the nature of man, originally ingrafted in him, but by the commission and rites of Jesus the great Physician of souls, who had that power to conferr it & did conferr it. Sin, I am sure that is committed after baptesme, is of the same rank and condition, as sin committed before it. They are both sins, and spiritual blemishes of the soul; both have reference to the God of spirits; and are both equally invisable. And yet we all acknowledge, that man, even poor

weak sinfull man, ministerially abolishes, by the rites of baptism, which is the laver of regeneration, both original and actual sin; and so gives the Soul its first life. And I should think it, as hard a thing, to give the first life, as to repair it, to regenerate a Soul as to physick it, to abolish sin by water as by words, and every way as easie to take away actual sin by an authorative sentence, upon the confession, humiliation and sorrow of the partie, as to abolish all sin both actual and original by casting a little water upon the face; sometime without any such disposition of heart or submission unto penance. Sin is taken away and grace conferred in both places, and ministerially by meer man, through his rites and order, and commission, who is sole author and fount of all grace and life.

O but God never gave this power unto man; it seems he did; if the Gospel may be beleaved: and all over the universal Church hath this penitential absolution bin as constantly practised, as baptismal ablution ever was. He then that denies the fact, denies Gospel, and all practice of Ecclesiastical antiquity, by which the sence of Gospel is interpreted. He that denies the possibility, gainsaies himself, if he acknowledg the vertue of baptism. For there the like power of acquitting the soul of sin, is beleaved, even by anticatholicks themselves, to be ministerially in man, and with som advantage above what is to be found, in the sacrament of absolution. For it is a greater power to take away sin without, than with a penitential disposition.

The above-named texts of gospel which speak this great preëgative and power, I commend to the serious consideration of all good Christians, who wish well to themselves. The promise of it is twice made in the gospel, once to St. Peter, and again to all the Apostles. First to S. Peter, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam. Et porta inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam. Et tibi dabo claves regni celorum. Et quodcumque ligaveris super*

terram

terram erit ligatum & in cælis, & quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum & in cælis, Matth. 16. Then afterwards to all the Apostles, *Amen dico vobis quaecumque ligaveritis super terram erunt ligata & in cælo, Et quaecumque solveritis super terram erunt soluta & in cælo*, Matth. 18. These promises by reason of the singularness of the favour again and again foretold, when they came to be actually performed, they were fulfilled with a solemnity most venerable, most strang and sacred, and from the very first creation of the world unto that day unheard of. For he breathed upon them, and said *λάβετε πνεῦμα ἁγίου*, Receive, or take the Holy Ghost. A wondrous ceremony. What is the matter? he tells them presently, *Quorum scilicet he, remisistis peccata, remittuntur eis, & quorum retinueris retenta sunt*. And can we wonder then, that Christians in all ages who beleeve in Jesus Christ, should resort and flock so greedily to the feet of those men, who are indued with a power from above so divine, so beneficial, as this is.

We may see, if we do but read the Acts of the Apostles cautiously, enough even in that short story to make us discern, what esteem primitive Christians had, and what use they made of that power. For in the 19 Comma of that story, S. Luke having declared the efficacy of S. Paul his Masters preaching and miracles, upon a particular circumstance, that then happened in an act of penitential satisfaction, he speaks thus, *Of those that beleeved, ther came great flocks of them to confess their sins and declare their actions, and great store of such as had followed curious arts, gathered their books together, and burnt them before the Apostles, in so much that an accompt of their prices being taken was found to amount to fifty thousand denaries*. In those few words the Evangelist gives notice both of their Confession and satisfaction, doubtless in order to sanction the power exercised by the Apostles. And if the following practice of one and the same Church, more largely

extended both for time and place, may interpret the meaning of those primitive actions more briefly declared, we may be confident enough, that people, both such as first came to the Church, and such as by sin had forfeited their state of innocence therein, never obtained access there but by this double-edged sword of Confession and Satisfaction. For in all times, such as came out of infidelity to the Church, if they were of age, made a protestation of their defect, acknowledged their actions, which were contrary to that faith, to be sins, and shewed a dislike therof and willingness to amend, in order to Baptisme, as well as they had need after their entrance into that Church, if they fell again into sin, for their working out their reconciliation, to submit to confession and satisfaction in order to sacramental absolution.

And we may be certain they specified their facts in particular. For els they had but said all the same thing; namely, *I am a sinner*, a grievous sinner, which in effect was to say nothing. God was not content, when he had extorted a confession from Adam and Eve in paradise, till they acknowledged their particular fact, *Comedimus de ligno*. Neither could a sacrifice in the old Law, offered by way of satisfaction, be proportioned to the crime, except the particular sin were specified. Nor could ther be found in a general expression of a sinner, some sins to be remitted and some to be retained, or the sins of one man to be bound and others to be loosed.

What may be the ceremonies and rites of this great sacramental work of Absolution, what the properties and modes of sorrow, confession and satisfaction, belongs to spiritual men to declare; and they are sufficiently known. I am not here to say all I might speak; but only so much in brief, as may let my reader understand, that the custom of Catholick confession and absolution, is so far from being either voluntary or impious, that it may seem rather a well-grounded, holy and religious work. And
Catholicks

Catholicks that use it, if we judg them not to be thereby more holy, yet can it not be denied, but they are more humble than those who will not submit their hearts and tongues and knees unto that action which is so very much contrary to the pride and stubbornnes of sensual natur.

§. 19. *Indulgence.*

W^{ithin} a day or two after I had entred *Brussels*, a sweet and pleasant town in *Flanders*, I heard there of an Indulgence in one of their Churches. I went therfor with all care to see what the matter was; and found in a Church neatly dressed up and strowed with rushes, a great company of people earnest at their prayers upon their knees, all the morning long. And about the third hour of the day a solemn Messach began, which continued till towards eleven a clock, at which they communicated all of them, whom I had seen before so earnestly confessing their sins, in several places of the Church, built up and down for that purpos. But what that Indulgence meant, I did not then perfectly understand. For according to the conceipt I had brought with me out of *England* I expected to have found things in another postur, than I did. I looked for a man in som high place, proclaiming a liberty and releasment from all sinspast, present and to come, and a crowd of people round about him, to receiv his favour with shouts and clapping of hands, crying *gratias*, aloud *gratias*, as school-boys do, when som person of quality has got them leav to play. There was no such thing; but all earnest devotion, sighings and most hearty prayers, with most heavenly piety, bursting out of the heart into the very face and eyes of people round about.

But when I apprehended afterwards, and perfectly understood the business, I am not able to express, with what confusion, I ruminated upon the strang misapprehensions we have here in *England* of the waies and practice of Ca-

tholicks instilled into us by our teachers. There is not any one thing of Catholick faith and practice, made more ridiculous in *England*, more impious and senseles, then this business of Indulgence. And yet as soon as it is understood, we shall not find any one particle of Christian religion more just and rational then it is. The business in short is this; Antient Christians beleev'd true and perfect penitence to consist of three parts: First hearty sorrow, dislike, and regret interiour; then an humble acknowledgment, self accusation and confession; Lastly satisfaction, restitution and amendment, by fastings, almsdeeds, prayer and corporal castigations, opposit to those pleasures of sin, wherunto consent had been given against the law and will of God, unto the service of the flesh. And if these penitential works imposed upon him who had confess'd his sin, proved afterward either too long, or too heavy for the poor penitent, overwhelmed with shame and sorrow for his misdemeanours, then wer they either mitigated by the Church, or changed into som other pennance more supportable: And this change or mitigation is called *Indulgence*.

And it must needs be a human, pious, and just act. For who was ever so hard hearted, that he would not eas his very ox or ass, when he sunk under his burthen? And if any should be otherwise cruel, he would be looked upon as a Monster of inhumanity. And surely those penalties that in our case prove so insupportable and grievous, wer either justly or unjustly imposed: If justly; then the same authority that laid them on, upon a legal motive, may, that motive ceasing, releas them; If they wer unjustly imposed, then must they needs be justly taken off again. And so Indulgence must upon all accounts be rational just and good. This in brief is the business of Indulgence; which is a mercifull releasment of penalties by reason of the great sorrow of the penitent or some other good motiv, either mitigated or changed into som other more easie good work. And all this is no more, then what *S. Paul* practis'd long ago;

ago; and what our very protestant Church of *England*, whose Ministers write, and preach and speak so much against Indulgences, acts her self; It is a very strange thing one would think, but very true it is, she acts it, and publicly, ever in these our dayes, in our own country.

The people of *Corinth* had one amongst them, who had a long and severe penance enjoined him for his crime of incest, at *S. Pauls* command, haply to walk in Sack-cloth, separated from other Christian company or the like; whereas the incestuous person, partly by the resentment of his great sin, partly by the confusion of the heavy penance, stood even absorpt with shame and dolour; insomuch, that his Christian neighbours fearing it might chance to prejudice his health or haply shorten his life, intreated *S. Paul* by letters, that he would be pleased for that reason to release his penance. The good Apostle sufficiently satisfied, gave power to some amongst them to indulge to his imbecillity, and take off his penance, assuring them, that what they should do in his name he would ratifie it. Thus acted *S. Paul*; as any one may read in his second letter he wrote to *Corinth*, the second chapter or comma of that Epistle. And our very protestant Church of *England*, ever since I was born hath still used this custom of *commuting* as they call it, or taking off a penalty, upon the sorrow or other satisfaction of the offending party. I have known my self some that have been adjudged to stand in a white sheet three market dayes, so to have been indulged afterwards, that they have stood but only one; and others, that have not stood at all. How Protestants can meddle at all with any such penances, either to impose or take them off, who in their first reformation cashiered all such practises as superstitious and popish inventions, and write against both penance and Indulgence, so much as they do, it is not easie to read. But thus they do, and have don to my knowledg. And herein they do as much, and indeed the very same thing. The Catholick Church does, when she either pu-

nishes a delinquent, or grants the penitent an Indulgence. But the Catholick Church acts conformable to her own principles; the Protestant contrary to his. But that I may the better excuse and justify catholick practice in this point, I must fetch my discourse a little higher.

Six things follow consequently one upon another, in this old catholick point, I now treat of. First is, that Sin is not ordinarily remitted to any beleever in this world, in order to an entrance into life eternal without sorrow and confession, and the power of the Keys to absolve, legally and rightfully applyed. Second is, that after sin remitted by God and his sacred viceregents upon earth, a due or guilt of temporal punishment remains still to be undergon, for our unlawfull delights of sin. Third is, that these temporal penalties remaining after sin forgiven, known only to God what and how great they be, may by fasting, almes-deeds, prayer and other laborious works, be redeemed and taken off. Fourth is, that these laborious works by which the guilt of temporal punishment is expiated, may either be inflicted upon us in this life immediately by God, to prevent the worst and greater pains in the other; or to concur with Gods hand and thereby to ease it, be enjoined by his Priests; or to help the Priests hands may be voluntarily undertaken. Fifth is, that all satisfactory works are reduced to three heads, prayer, alms-deeds, and fasting. And these are all properly satisfactory. Six is, that a relaxation, mitigation or commutation of penalties or laborious work, and pains either imposed or otherwise due, which is called *Indulgence*, is both a lawfull good work and in the Churches power. This is the chain of the business. And doubtles it is all and each part of it a holy and pious doctrine: since it exceedingly restrains sin, wherof we are not so easily acquit as men commonly imagin, if it be but true.

¶ Of the first, sorrow namely and confession of sin and absolution, I have said enough in the foregoing paragraph,
enough

ough to my purpos. And if any require more, ther be
books enough among Catholicks, and Catholicks enough a-
mong those books to satisfy him.

The second, that after sin remitted, a due or guilt of tem-
poral penalty remains still to be undergon for our unlaw-
full delights of sin, is so cleer a truth that in holy writ ther is
hardly any one more manifest. David after he had ob-
tained pardon for his sin of adultery and murther, was pu-
nished by the hand of God, with the loss of his child,
whom the Almighty struck with death. And the same King
for mustering, and numbering up the forces of his kingdom,
therby to see and glory in his own strength, though he
grieved and did penance, and confest and found mercy for
it; yet of three evils, war, pestilence and famine, he was
forced to chuse one, for his satisfactory penalty. Both these
passages are recorded in the second book of Kings. In like
manner was the Israelites sin of Idolatry in worshipping
a golden calf forgiven by the prayer of Moyse, as is re-
corded in the book of Exodus; and yet wer many thou-
sands of them slain for it. The whole nation of the He-
brews for their frequent murmurations died all of them in
the desert, except *Caleb* and *Joshua*: and yet was God re-
conciled to Israel, by Moses his intercession. Nay even
Moses himself, as it is written in the book of Numbers, for
his fault at the rock, what-ever it was, for it is but obscurely
set down, was forbidden to enter into the promised land;
as also was Aaron too, and yet both of them recovered by
Gods favour. A good prophet in the third book of Kings,
was slain by a lion for eating bread in Bethel, against Gods
command, and yet in token of his sanctity the lion stood
by him, and devoured not but defended his carcas. Of this
very beleef was our apostle S. Paul; who in his first letter
to Corinth, affirms many Christians to have fallen asleep,
and dyed, for their unworthy communicating; whom not-
withstanding himself witnesses to have bin reconciled to
God for their fault. Thus saith he, *we are chastened by*
God,

God, that we may not be damned with this world. But what need I stand upon particulars? Is not death the punishment of original sin? S. Paul and Moses teach peremptorily that it is; as any one may see in the book of Genesis written by Moses, and S. Paul's letter to the Romans; the first comma of this, and the second of the other. And yet we see that all men die; some wherof notwithstanding have without doubt that sin forgiven while they live; for all men are not damned. And do not all sorts of anticatholics beleev themselves to be the righteous friends and servants of God? they do so; and yet, even these suffer many afflictions and miseries in this life as well as Catholics, and dy as well as they. Do they suffer this justly or unjustly? If unjustly, the holy and just God is accused; if justly, then may temporal penalties be due, though Sin be forgiven. And can any man in reason think that a notorious wicked person, who hath spent his whole life in purloining, avarice, lyes, thefts, murders, & adultery, though he should com to be sorry, even heart full, for those his grand iniquities, should be in an even condition of present beatitude, with him that is wholly undefiled with any such disorders? or that a common harlot, after she has wiped her mouth, is as gracious in the eyes of heaven as any the most vertuous matron that ever lived? *Ergo sine causa justificavi cor meum, & laui inter innocentes manus meas, si dicebam narrabo sic; ecce nationem filiorum tuorum reprobo.*

The third tradition is, that temporal penalty remaining after sin forgiven, may by laborious good works be redeemed and taken off. Thus the Ninivites prevented the subversion of their city, as the prophet Jonas writes, by deep humiliation, fasting and prayer: although some penalties God will in no sort releas as temporal death, and some several Judgments best known to himself.

Fourth is, that laborious works, satisfactory for sin, and expiatory of greater penalties due therunto, may either be inflicted

inflicted immediatly by God; or to prevent Gods hand, enjoined by his Priests, or to help the Priests hand may voluntarily undertaken. That God may do it, no man doubts at all. And he does what is best in his own eyes, and what he does is just. And if men to avoid the wrathfull ire of God, will either betake themselves to penitential works, or voluntarily undergo them, when they are lawfully imposed by such as sit in Gods place, to preserv justice and piety upon earth, surely they shall do well. Thus *Job* for a fault committed by an unwary word, did of himself do penance in sack-cloth, as he recounts in the forty second Comma of his book. And *David* for his offence lay of his own accord upon the earth, and fed on bread and ashes. *Achab* likewise of his own motion put on sack-cloth, as is recounted in the third book of *Kings*; for which good work of his, God said of him to *Elias*, *I will not bring evil in his dayes*. *Achab* it seems prevented the punishments, which God would otherwise have inflicted upon him, by his own voluntary affliction. In like manner did the King of *Niniveh* divert the judgments of heaven, by starting sodainly out of his throne into sack cloth and ashes. And as punishment may be thus voluntarily undertaken, so likewise may it be patiently undergon, when it is inflicted by another, whether by temporal courts of judicature which although sometimes they pardon, yet sometimes again they inflict the due penalty of scourges, or death upon a delinquent, though he be never so sorry for his offence; or whether it be imposed by a Priest, who according to ancient Christianity sits in Gods place, either to bind or loose, either to remit or retain sin, as Gospel speaks. And several rules by tradition and ancient Councils have been delivered unto priests, thereby to guide themselves in this great work of imposing penances, that Gods wrath and heavy judgments may be appeased and diverted from poor sinfull man. For some sins penances were imposed for seaven daies, for som fortie, for som a twely-month, for som seven years, for som all the life

life time ; and several measures either of alms deeds, sack-cloth, discipline , pilgrimages , prayers, fastings, wherof antiquitie gives copious examples , were set out to rectifie that good work. And these things wer so punctually put in practis in the antient and primitiv Church , that Tertullian relates, it was a rare thing in his daies; to meet with a Christian, that was not either in hair-cloth, or som one or other penitential weed. Insomuch that the Christians were then discerned from all other men, by their wan and lurid countenances being fearfully apprehensive of the judgments to com, and greedily embracing any acts of penance for their expiation. Som prescription of penances may be seen in the Nicene Council, in the fourth Council of Carthage , in the first African, &c. And these laborious penitential works, though contened for many years, were in those daies to be absolutely fulfilled, before absolution could be given. But since those times , by reason of inconvenience which might happen by absolution deferred , it is now given immediatly upon confession , and the satisfactory penance then imposed was to be afterward performed by the penitent , at times and manner appointed. And here let not Catholick people deceiv themselves , and be glad to have a small and easie penance imposed upon them, in satisfaction for their sins ; as people are apt, when the world is grown dissolute, to desire it. For this does but fill the world with plagues and punishments from heaven; unto the agravating wherof all sinners concurr each one to the mesur of his iniquity. However men may waver, and Christians loos their first fervor ; yet God is the same God he was in antient times. And as sure as God is in heaven, he will require at every mans hand his own sin , according as he hath acted , and have him suffer accordingly. This is the reason, why the last general Council at Trent desired so earnestly, that the antient canonical penalties should be renewed and put in ure again , proportioned in som measure to mens offences. Let Christians be industrious and quick,

quick, to redeem themselves from wrath. What Priests are wanting to enjoin; or their flocks to undergo, God will make up. And it were better to mortifie our selves, than to fall into the hands of him that is a consuming fire.

Now certainly it is very congruous, that acts and laborious penances should be imposed upon sinners, upon their penitent confession; first, that with Gods mercy in pardoning, may also concur something of his justice in inflicting personally; secondly, by reason of the various use and benefit of laborious penance, which makes, that people may not so easily be incited to sin, through a facility of pardon; it shows the grievousnes and filthy venom of iniquity; weaknes, vitious habits and disorderly inclination; gives a gust and som resentment of the Cross of Christ, and his various passions; purges and purifies the Church, and prevents Gods great wrath, which is sometimes by the injustice and naughtines of som eminent wicked man, inflamed against a whole nation. Thirdly, it is needfull to be don, therby to put a difference between baptisme and the sacrament of absolution. In baptisme all is freely pardoned, for the darknes of ignorance, which in heathenisme and infidelity may render a man in some sort excusable. But after baptisme once received, we are then set in the midst of light, we have renounced the world and all the pomps and vanities thereof, and made partakers of grace to assist us in good works. And he that knows the will of his heavenly father, and has undertaken to fulfill it, through the grace and ability he has given him, if he neglect, or which is worse contemns, is worthy of many stripes. Lastly, becaus as I said before, sin is brought into order by penalty; and considering, that God hath so willed, it cannot otherwis be rectified: for he is unchangeable. *Tribulatio & angustia in omnem animam hominis operantis malum, & Judaei primum, & Graci.*

Fifth tradition is, that all satisfactory works, whereby temporal penalties due to sin are released, be reduced to three heads;

heads; prayers, fasting, and alms-deeds. By prayer we offer in satisfaction for former disorders, the goods of our mind; those of our body, by fasting; and our external goods by deeds of alms. Prayer suppresses pride of life; fasting, concupiscence of the flesh; and alms-deeds, concupiscence of the eyes; three things contrary to God and godlines. In proof that all these are satisfactory works, holy fathers are so frequent, that they would fill a volum; and texts of holy scriptur are endless; som in general, as Isa. 1. 16. 17. Daniel the 4. 24. Luke 3. 8. 2 Cor. 7. 8. 9. 2 Tim. 4. 8. innumeros for each of the three works in particular: but I must not stay upon such citations.

Because I have here so often spoken of temporal punishments due after sins remission, and satisfactory works to mitigate that wrath, I must, that I may be understood, add here three or four words which may cleer my meaning, before I can proceed. The first is that this punishment due to sin after remission, for our sinfull carnal pleasures and co-operation with satan, is any torment God pleases to inflict, either in this world or in the other, even hell torments themselves, as they are separated from eternity. For as in sin ther is first an aversion from God, secondly a conversion to creatures, and thirdly an enmity with God, following therupon; so do those punishments comprise three things answerable therunto, *pœnam damni* or punishment of loss, which answers to the aversion; *pœnam sensus* or punishment of sense which refers to the other conversion; and an eternity of both, which corresponds to the eternal enmity thence contracted with God. Now remission of sin, as it does restore Gods friendship, and consequently blots out both the fault and aversion: so also it changes the eternity of the punishment into a temporal one; which notwithstanding must be paid either here or in som other place for those temporal unlawfull pleasures of sin, imbibed by our inordinat conversion to the creatur,
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against the will and command of God, unless we satisfy Gods wrath for them. But that satisfaction, what it means the better to understand it, we must note secondly, that satisfaction properly speaking, is not the same thing as restitution. For to restore a thing, is only to cease from injury, in detaining no further that which is anothers: but to satisfy, is by some good work performed or penalty undergone, to repair the wrong that another has received by my injurious action: so that restitution respects the thing, satisfaction the person, who receives a recompence, either by the measure of his wrong or the pleasure of his will. But that which is made by measure, is an absolute and perfect satisfaction; the other which depends wholly upon pact or voluntary acceptation, though it be a proper satisfaction, yet it is an imperfect one. Third is, that among creatures may be made an absolute and perfect satisfaction. For I can chastise my body, and bring it as much down, by humiliation, discipline, and penance, as contrary vice putt it up against the spirit, which ought to rule in it. I can restore as much right and honor to my neighbour, as I have done him either contumely or wrong. But this absolute satisfaction can have no place between the creature and his maker, or in an offence that concerns God, where an infinite good is offended, and there is nothing to be given or acted, to repair the offence, but what has been received from that great good, to whom satisfaction is to be made, and falls infinitely short of the offence committed, by reason of the infinity of the person so offended. Here then imperfect satisfaction, which depends both upon the donation, and free acceptation of the person offended, only has place: As if a man who has been robbed of a thousand talents should accept either of submission, self-vilification, or a giving back of one talent for a satisfaction to some poor friend of the party offended. So our Lord counselled, *Give almes*, saith he, *and all things are clean and clear again*. The fourth thing to be noted is, that he who hurts

or wrongs another man his friend, violates both justice and friendship. And one of those may by satisfaction be repaired without the other. I am not alwayes bound to take him for my bosom friend again, that has don me a notorious wrong, as he was aforetime, although the injury be made up. But with the creatur in order to God it is ever so; by reason of the infinit vallue of the person offended or contemned, and our absolute insufficiency to recover his friendship. Nor can any satisfaction be given by any creatur for his fault to God as it is faulty and violates friendship, but only as that fault of his is accompanied with guilt to penalty, for his breaking the tenor of law and justice, and that by work don only by the grace of him, who *gratis* and of his own good will restore us his friendship lost, which of our selves we could never obtain. So that our satisfaction towards God may indeed repair the equality of justice by undergoing penalty due to sin, prescribed by his will and law, but the equality of friendship forfeited by sin it can never repair: This must be made up by the free mercy of God and the redemption of Jesus his only son applyed unto us by his sacraments.

Thus the threefold good works abovementioned are said and truly said to be satisfactory, even in order to God; not in rigor of justice, which requires that satisfaction be made, first, out of our own proper goods, and secondly to an equality: how can any creatur pretend any such thing towards his maker, but they are satisfactors only *ex gratia Dei* by the free grace and favour of God first bestowing upon us that, wherby we may have to satisfie, then accepting of the little we are able to do, thirdly contenting himself with that, whereas he might challenge all that ever we have, and leaving us free to offer as our own gift, what indeed was his before, and lastly so freely justifying us by his grace, that our works otherwise of no worth may have thereby som kind of correspondency with the affront and injury we did him. Thus a tender father, when he is of-
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sented with his child, it is as easie for him upon the poor infants tears, to be satisfied, if at his command he present him only with a pin on his sleeve as if he had given him something of real worth, that was not his own before.

Sixt and last tradition is, that a relaxation of penalties imposed upon a penitent for satisfaction granted upon a just and sufficient cause commonly called indulgence, is a lawfull and good work, and in the Churches power. It is good and lawfull becaus it is don in imitation of God himself, who is said not to lay upon us any more then we can bear. And certainly it is in the Churches power. For she that binds can lose, and if she can punish she can spare. These two powers are inseparably annexed together. And in every Republick whatsoever, is this power of dispensing in penalties injoynd, necessarily to be supposed. Now whether this releasment of penalties either imposed or due, be made by way of solution or absolution, whether by application of any treasure, or by a judiciary power, which upon a just caus can and does commute, dispenses and indulges to humane frailty, belongs to School-divines to dispute. But that they do both of them belong to the Church in her own affairs, both to inflict penalties, and suspend the execution thereof, upon some, as mercy and prudence shall suggest, is sufficiently manifest by the above-mentioned example of the incestuous person in Corinth, who otherwise was either injuriously tyed, or illegally loosed by Sr. Paul from his penitential weeds and censure, upon the notable sorrow and contrition of heart, which he had shewed amongst his Christian neighbours.

If any one seriously ponder the two letters, which S. Paul wrote to Corinth, first chapter of the first, and second chapter of the other, he shall find enough to justifie what I have hitherto spoken concerning this matter, as the principal intent of my discours; as namely that censur and penalties are inflicted upon sinners; and that they are satisfactory; and that by indulgence they may be released and

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taken off. For in his first Epistle S. Paul censured and punished, and that in the authority and name of Christ, who must therfor have given order so to do, one that although he was sorry for his sin, yet was he not sufficiently penanced for it. And this was don for satisfaction too, *ut spiritus saluus fiat in die iudicii*, that his spirit, saith he, may be safe in the day of Judgment. And yet afterwards in his second epistle, he permits this penalty to be taken off again. And all this is so plain and manifest, that Calvin in his exposition upon that place cannot deny it; and Beza there doth openly acknowledg, that the remission of that kind of rigour was afterward called Indulgence: which is in effect as much as I have hitherto spoken.

In his first Epistle, ther is noised, saith he, to be amongst som of you such fornication, as is seldom heard amongst pagans, that one should have his fathers wife. And ye are stout, and have no regard to separate from amongst you him that hath don the deed. But though absent in body, yet present in spirit I have judged as present, that meeting together with my spirit, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, ye deliver up in the power of our Lord Jesus, him who hath don that deed, unto satan to the mortification of his flesh, that his spirit may be safe in the day of our Lord. And in his second Epistle where he suffers that censur and penalty by a charitable indulgence to be released and taken off, he speaks thus, I have determined not to com back to you with sadnes of heart: For if I make you sad, who is it that chears me, but he that is made sad by me. And that very thing I wrote to you, that when I com, I might not have sadnes upon sadnes, of the things wherof I should rejoyce; Confiding in you, that my joy is yours. For in much tribulation and straightnes of heart I wrote to you, with many tears, not that you might be sad, but that you might know what charity I had more abundantly towards you. And if any one hath made me sad, he hath not don it but in part that I might not burthen you all. This check
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which is made by many, suffices for him, who is such a one; so that on the contrary you should rather indulge and comfort, least he who is such a one, be swallowed up with too much sadness; wherfor I would intreat you to establish your charity towards him. For I therfor wrote; that I might have an experiment of you, whether or no you would be obedient in all things. Now to whom you have granted any thing, I also do the same. And what I have indulged; I have granted for you in the person of Christ; that we be not circumvented by Satan: for we are not ignorant of his devices. Thus S. Paul; who calls this indulgent condonation to a distressed conscience, an act of charity.

The Catholick Church applies this her gracious indulgence either in general; or som particular person; in general, when she invites all the whole flock of Christians spread over the face of the world in several Kingdoms, to unite together at a time appointed, in their hearty prayers, joined with alms-deeds and fasting: in the Churches, for obtaining of som special favour with God, the concord, for example, of Christian princes, the repressing of the Turk, or som plague or great sterility and the like; upon this good work of their universal concurrence to the prescribed duty, the penalties either enjoined them or otherwise due, are released, commuted and taken off. This and such like is called a general Indulgence. Particular is, when som persons who, all things considered, would sink under the mortifications they are to undergo, or cannot for som other circumstances go through them, are by the discretion of pastours eased by commuting or changing them into som other good work, either more easie or more compatible with their condition, &c.

And becaus the ancient priests wer generally inexorable in that point, least by too much dispensation they might disable the tradition they had received of fulfilling penances; and so bring in a general looseness upon Christianity, therfor did penitents in old time run to prisons, where any

Christian was kept for their faith, intreating those martyrs intercession in their behalf. And of so much esteem and reverence were the Martyrs of old time, who were kept in prison for their religion, that what ever they asked of the prelates, would not be denied them. For this reason, did S. Cyprian in one of his Epistles, earnestly entreat the Martyrs in prison, that they would cautiously and not rashly commend unto Priests so many sinners promiscuously, who for their lapses and grand disorders wer under penitential sack-cloth; least by such unseasonable indulgence, the nerves of Christianity should by little and little dissolve and languish; which indeed is now in a manner come to pass. For though the doctrine be the same it was, yet the discipline or practice of that doctrine is now much decayed in the world, what by Schoolmens tattle about contrition, which I am confident the ancient Priests, who so eagerly prest the usual penances, understood aswell as any Schoolman; and what for so many priviledges granted to religious institutes; and what by corruption and contagion of heresie; the rigor and ancient face of Christianity begins to look somewhat uncouthly in this affair. Whereas in primitiv times ther was hardly to be found one Christian in a thousand, which was not in some penitential exercise, hair-cloth, fasting and the like; there is now hardly one man in a thousand, will be brought to it. But it may be we are more holy and innocent in these, then they were in former times. It is well, if it be so. Indeed when people will not be brought to the performance of due penances, it is better to indulge and chang them into some other easier good works, that they may have at least the merit of obedience, then do nothing at all. But let all men know, that a light penance imposed upon a great sinner (which the old Canon law called *penitentiam falsam*) is not so much a penance as an Indulgence. This may suffice for declaration of this parcel of Catholick faith and practis of the Church, concerning Indulgences; which is as pious, just

just and rational, as any other point of Christianity what ever it be.

But the Ministers of the Reformation are in this particular more to be admired then in all others. For they after they had released people, not only from exterior penance, but from all kind of satisfaction both towards God and man, yea and from confession & restitution too, they cryed out against popish indulgence, having themselves proclaimed such a large indulgence as was never heard of since the world began, neither within Christianity nor without it.

Massach. §. 20.

I Was edified and amazed, to see catholick people flocking to their Churches, not upon fundaises only, but every day in the week, to their sacred orisons, the bells ringing to that purpos all the town over, not only every several hower in the morning untill midday, but at vespers, compline, and even at midnight mattens; when all the religious of a kingdom are called up, in the very depth of their sleep, to chant forth psalms hymns and canticles, to the prais and glory of the almighty. It delighted me to enter their Churches, which be kept so sweet and clean, and in such a religious quiet retirednes, that it would make a man at his entrance into them, as they say of the kingdom of *Florida* in a sweet spring day, to forget wife and children and all worldly busines. But when I beheld the deep reverence and earnest devotion of the people, the majesty of their service, the gravity of their altars, the decency of their priests; *Certainly*, said I within my self, *this is the house of God, and gate of heaven.* Alas, our Churches in *England*, as they be now, be as short of those, either for decency, use, or piety, as stables to a princely pallace. There they be upon their knees all the week long at their prayers, many of them constantly an hour together in the morning, half an hour he that is least, and, My hous, saith God, is

the house of prayer. But our Churches are either shut up all the week, or if they be open, are wholly taken up with boies, shouting, running and gamboling all about. On Sundaies indeed our people sit quiet and decently drest; but to bow the knee is quite out of fashion. And if any one chance to do it, as he is rare to behold, so is he very nimble at it, and as soon up as down; as if he made a courtship with his knees, or only tried, if his nerves and sinews were as good to bow, as stand upright. And our whole religious work here, is to sit quietly, whiles a minister speaks upon a text, conferring notes, answering difficulties, expounding words, drawing conclusions, and putting together, for ampler dilucidation, one text to another, as if he were reading to students in the school, some piece of *Aristotles Perihermenias*. And thus we spend all our dayes ever learning and teaching; and our whole religion is to teach and learn. As if religion were, only to lend the ear to one who cries *Hearken*; or an art of knowing, how to speak an hour upon two or three words of a vers; which for my part as I am well enough assured, that it is not the great work of Christian religion, so neither is it the true work of Christian preaching; whether we consult reason or presidents of antiquity to find it. For as all sermons left us by greek and latin fathers are grave short and pithy, such namely as they, being all priests, used to deliver at the altar between the Evangile and Creed; so ought they to be, and ever were, most free from any such verbal comparing of text with text, vers with vers, and the like various vanities, which so take up our English preachings, that our sermons be little or nothing els, and only serv to spend time and vent out own frivolous verbosity.

If it do happen that a more learned Protestant do make a sermon of solid matter, as sometimes they do, he will be sure before he make an end, by one conceit or other to have a sling at the *Papists*; to the end that people may think, as indeed they do, that *Papists* have no such do-

doctrin, though the preacher know himself that he got it all out of their books; which is a pretty piece of legerdemain, but very frequent in this land. Another thing I have observed, and it is worth observation, that of all the sermons I have ever heard in England, I have never known any to deliver *ex proposito*, the proper and peculiar doctrine of protestancy, by which and for which he first revolted from the catholick Church; as that Our good works be all mortal sins, and damnable before God; that we have no will or power to do good or avoid evil; that the commandments of God are impossible to be kept, &c. but rather all contrary. As if we were ashamed of our own doctrine, and afraid to speak before the people, what we know in reason could not but offend Christian ears. But all generally do preach, when they preach any good thing, the doctrine of Catholics; though ever abused with their own modes and mixtures. For every Sect, as it hath a peculiar spirit, so hath it a mode and vein and method proper to itself. The *Independent* speaks many good words, but inconsequent and unconnexed, so much roving up and down, as if he had a mind to be a prophet errant, and before he gives over, to say something of every thing. The *Presbyterian* ever pursues some Platonick idea, the ingoings for example, and outgoings of Christ; which is so thin and bodiles, that he is forced to assign six or seven wayes to discern it; then gives twelve consequent effects; nineteen wayes to get, &c. in which wayes he does even tire himself, as you may perceive by his melting and breathing, when he comes to the high hills of *eighteenthly* and *nineteenthly*. And after some months labour and travel in these his wayes, at last with much ado he finishes his text; which before he handled was good and easy doctrine, but is now by his tedious exercise, rendered obscure, intricate, and full of doubts. The *Protestant* cuts his text out logically into so many parts, and then walks through them all with an even thetork, adorned with witty conceits and flowers of com-

mon places, still bringing up that parcel of the text he is handling, with such proportion and measur in the close, that a man must needs say when he has done, that he has shewed a pretty featous piece of art. And when his, or Presbyterian or Independents sermon is ended, then is the great work of their religion done; though all to little purpose. For a dead mans foot, say what you will to him, will never warm his shoo.

But the Catholick, if he speak like himself, having gravely and pithily prest the intention of the gospel for such a day, unto the peoples practis and devotion, falls to the great works of sacrifice, if it be in the morning, and of evensong in the afternoon, adoration, prayer and charity; which is the summe wherein his religion consists. And all his preaching serves, but as a pair of bellows to make those coals burn. Nor does any good old Catholick, that is well grounded in the constant practis of his faith, care at all for any further instruction; knowing aforehand, that it can tend to nothing els, than what before he knew, and yet endeavours to practis. For with him pure religion and undefiled, is not to hear words but do deeds, to relieve the orphan and widow, and to keep our selves unspotted in this world; which unspottednes we attain, by complying heart and hand, unto the rule and sacraments of *Jesus* Christ. Nor did the primitive Christians for three hundred years, ever come together to a sermon made to them upon a text all their whole life time; but meerly flocked, at their priests appointment, to their *Messach*, or *Domineum*, or *Leiturgie*, or by what other name their Christian sacrifice was called; for they used many at several times to avoid the Pagans discovery. And it is most strang, that we should pretend here in *England* to be Christians, and the onely good ones; and yet reject those two great things, which were by all Christendom esteemed in every age the very essences of Christianity, the Tribunal of absolution, and the great Legacy of *Jesus* his body to his spouse

the Church ; insisting wholly upon preaching, which as it is an accidental and relative work of our Christianity , so it is common with us and all religions both Mahometan, Jew and Pagan ; whose sermons if any should hear, he could not tell by the morality of the matter, to what religion they belonged.

It is hard to say , why , against all the vogue of antiquity, we should be so violent, as to abolish the Christian sacrifice, pull down the altars, banish the priesthood , yea and persecute it unto death , except we mean to repaganise ourselves. Our Protestant forefathers, when they first rose, found manifestly all the Christian world over, that this *Inherent sacrifice* according to the order of *Melchisedech* was, and had ever been the sum of all apostolical devotion: for which were built long ago by pious Catholics, our many shrines and altars, and goodly fair Churches , which hang now forlorn and desolate in our hands , like great dead carcases after the soul is departed. For the inshrined body of *Jesus* was the life and soul of our Churches, which then died all of them, when he departed , mouldring away ever since into dust and rottenness. And therfor *Martin Luther* with his *Kate*, the Adam and Eve of Protestancy, did not for that reason presume to pull down the Altars , although they would not keep them up, without the mixtur of some error of their own. But we in *England*, in our strange heat, tore down all , without either president of the Catholic world, or our own reforming forefathers.

We cannot but see , if indeed we see any thing , that every law and religion hath been still annexed with a corresponding sacrifice. Yea so surely and universally, that sacrifice seems both to be born with religion , and with religion to be extinguished. The first men who worshipped God in the world, as *Cain* and *Abel*, are said to have done it with a sacrifice. After the flood , with religion again renewed, was also sacrifice renewed by *Noah*. And then afterwards , through divers persecutions , religion was also brought

brought into hazzard, nothing did the Prophets so much lament, as the ceasing of their sacrifice, as may be seen in the book of *Kings* and *Daniel*. And not without reason. For all other kinds of good things, offered or done to God, are common also unto creatures; only sacrifice is a worship so due to the Almighty, as none either in heaven or earth may partake with him in it. And other sacrifice properly so called besides this according to the order of *Melchisedeck*, ther never was any amongst Christians. For although faith, hope, and prais, be by way of analogy called a sacrifice, in an improper and translated locution, to set forth the worth and acceptables of them, yet this is so far from derogating from the great and solemn sacrifice properly so called, that it presupposes and establishes it. For the other could not have that analogical name, except that thing were, unto which they may bear analogie. Prais could not be commended as sacrifice, if there were no such thing as sacrifice, whence the commendation should be drawn, and to whose worth it should allude: as it were impertinent and foolish, to express the sweetness of any oratory by the name of honey, and sugred rhetorick, if we did beleeve there were no such thing, as honey and sugar in nature. It is true also that the death of Christ upon the Cross was both a true and solemn sacrifice. But that is passed away, and is the object of our faith, not an external rite about which the Church may meet and com together at all times to worship God, as is this Representation of it, which our Lord instituted for that very end before his death. Nor is the passion of our Lord proper to us Christians alone, as the real figuration of it which himself instituted. For all the sacrifices of the old law were accepted in order to that passion to com, even as ours in respect of it now past.

And since ther were true sacrifices in the old law amongst the Jews, why should ther not be also in the new which is believed to be more perfect; about which Christians should assemble to offer up, with it, and in order to it,

all their requests and praises. For Christ our Lord took not away those things which God his father in the old law instituted, as being not contrary to him; but only perfected and changed them into better things, both precepts, sacraments and sacrifice too. And of this last it behoved him to be more carefull than all the rest. For otherwise, such sacrifice is the onely worship proper and peculiar to God, by utterly taking it away, he had not augmented but diminished his Fathers glory. All other kinds of worship we Christians have for certain, which the Jews ever had; invocation, adoration, vows, hymns, feasts, fasts, faith, hope, charity and prais. Must only that, which onely is proper to the almighty, be excluded? Especially, sith we have all the reasons to honour God by sacrifice the Jews ever had. We are an extern and visible congregation as they were; we have the passion of the Messias to be represented before our eyes now with us past, as with them it was to com; we have the same God with the highest worship to be honoured, for our sins to be appeased, for favours to be invoked, for received benefits to be praised.

But if any will be contentious, and not heed all this, which is nothing but pious reason, let him look upon the primitive Church in the Apostles time, wherof we have som clear footsteps delivered us in the *Acts of the Apostles*; and he shall there find, that the Apostles and apostolical Christians placed their religion, not in hearing or making sermons, although they wanted not instructions, but in attending to their Christian liturgie: and all antiquitie will attest it. The sermons mentioned in that book were onely in defence of Christianity, made to the Jews and Pagans, for their conversion, not to any Christians at all. Such was S. *Peters* first speech to the Jews and Gentiles, that brake in amongst the Christians in Jerusalem after their *Messiah* ended, and the holy Ghost fallen upon them, c. 2. After this to other Jews, c. 3. c. 5. Then to *Cornelius* a Pagan, c. 10. So likewise spake S. *Stephen* to the Hebrew Priests

Priests and Jews, c. 7. S. *Philip* to the Ethiopian Eunuch, c. 8. S. *Paul* to the synagogue in *Pisidia*, c. 13. To others in *Iconium*, c. 14. To Gentiles in *Macedonia*, c. 16. Again to other Jews in *Thessalonica*, and heathen Philosophers in *Athens*, c. 17. Both S. *Paul* and *Apollō* to the Jews at *Corinth* and *Ephesus*, c. 18. c. 19. At *Troas* also he defended Christ and his religion against all that resisted it, speaking even till midnight, c. 20. But this was a dispute, and so the text calls it, rather than a preaching; and made *una sabbati*, saith the same text, *cum convenissimus ad frangendum panem*. So that it was not the work they came together for; but an additament to it. So likewise he spake to other Jews in *Jerusalem*, c. 22. To *Felix* and *Agrippa* pains, c. 24. c. 26. To the Jews in *Rome* for their conversion, c. 28. And no where was any formal sermon made to Christians, either by S. *Peter* or *Paul*, or any other, as the great work of their religion they came together for, although, as I have said, they wanted not exhortations, counsels and comforts of Gospel. Nor be there other sermons in that book but what I have mentioned. Nor did the Christians ever dream of serving God after their conversion by any such means, but only by their Eucharistian *leiturgy*, and *sacrifice*, bread-fraction, or *Messach*, as is apparent in that book. I will mention but one place in the beginning of the 13. ch. which speaks thus; *Ministrantibus illis Domino & jejnantibus dixit Spiritus sanctus, &c.* Whiles they were administering to our Lord and fasting, the holy Ghost said, Seperate me *Paul* and *Barnabas*; λειτουργούντων αὐτοῖς τῷ κυρίῳ, which *Erasmus* renders well and truly, *sacrificantibus illis Domino*. This one text gives double testimony both to apostolical *sacrifice*, and priestly *ordination*. For that ministerial function no man can doubt, but that it was a publick work of religion; and it could be no other than their great Christian Sacrifice, as the words do manifestly import. Since it was made τῷ κυρίῳ to our Lord. For other inferiour ministeries of

of the word and sacraments are not made to God, but to the people. The Apostles were λειτουργοὶ τοῦ κυρίου, administering, leiturgying, *sacrificing* to our Lord, when this segregation of *Paul* and *Barnabas* from the laity to the clergy, which cannot otherwise be imagined to be done but by sacerdotal consecration, was to be effected. And all that whole book testifies sufficiently that the Apostles and primitiv Christians ever came together to their *Dominicum*, or *Eucharist*, to their *liturgy* or *Messach*, and not to any sermon; not *ad audiendum concionem*, but *ad frangendum panem*; not to hear a sermon, but to break bread.

It would grieve any Christian heart to see the poor Catholics of *England*, so miserably harassed, pillaged, imprisoned, hated, hanged by their own allies and countrymen, as they have been now a hundred years, for the promotion of that great work of Christianity which Christ and his apostles taught them. And that they should undergo the same disgrace and ruin by such as call themselves Christians, yea the only pure ones, for that very self same act of Religion, for which both the Apostles themselves and all primitive Christians were so cruelly persecuted by Jew and Pagan. But the God of mercies look in his good time both upon the persecutor and sufferer, with compassion and favour: them, because they have done it ignorantly in incredulity; these, because for his fear and love they have persevered hitherto through many great afflictions in his service, and patiently withstood all opposition even unto bloodshed and death until this day. But Catholics had their lesson read them long ago, and they have it by heart by this time. *They will, saith their Lord and maister, lay their hands upon you and persecute you, delivering you into custody and prisons, dragging you before Kings and presidents for my names sake. And ye shall be betrayed by parents, children, kinfolk, and friends. And some of you they will put to death, and ye shall be a hatred unto all men*

men for my name. But who shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved. And I hope my countrey-men will at length discern their own dangerous mistake; so as to perceive with me, that the Popish *Mass*, which is the old apostolical devotion, merits not the hatred and mischief we have either wrought or intended the observers of it in our land.

Hitherto we have no reason to hate popery, upon the account of their *Messach*; which is indeed the chiefest piece of our division, and occasion of the many contumelies we put upon them; especially considering that in our own Communion, so far as it goes, we do but imitate great part of their mass, and that in their very words. Let us either not imitate that which we persecute, or not persecute, that which our selves do imitate.

§. 21. *B. Virgin.*

ALL Catholicks I could ever see or hear or read of, bear a most devout respect to the *Virgin MART*, whom others care not how they vilifie and dishonour, either by their words or writings. And I cannot but dislike this our uncivil carriage, to say no worse of it, as much as I do approve of their catholick piety. Surely that *Virgin*, of whom God would be incarnate, and with whom he lived so many years together, must needs be a person of strange perfection, and worthy of great esteem, amongst all such as worship her *Son*, and look upon him indeed as their Redeemer. He that loves him that begets, saith the good apostle, loves him that is begotten. And I should think, he that worships him that is begotten, must needs have some respect for her that bare him. The blessed *Virgin* was her self so confident of this, that she was bold to say, *Ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes*, All generations, all nations, saith she, shall call me Blessed. And surely if this be true, as in gospel it passes for divine words, they that instead of calling her Blessed, presume so highly to vilifie

vilifie and blaspheme her, even in publick streets, for which in catholick countries they should be in danger of being stoned to death by the people, show themselves to be a nation, that belongs not to the *Magnificat*. Indeed all here amongst us are not so rude; but such as be, are neither punished nor questioned for it. And what in the name of God hath the Virgin *Mary* don, what ill or harm hath she ever wrought, that any Christian should cast so many gibes, and show so much disesteem to that blessed creatur, whom the whole catholick world, the angels of heaven, nay our Lord himself, and that great God that made heaven and earth, have set in so high a place of honour. Will our incivility, as it hath no ground or reason, admit likewise of no limits? It may be suspected, that the spirit of Lutheranism is some very foul one. For it hath moved those professors in several places, unto the most unseemly language and highest disesteem of every thing that is venerable. Not only princes and prelates, priests and altars, shrines and sacrifice, bishops and their sacred ordinations, the real presence, tribunal of our reconciliation and the like; but the very saints and angels of heaven, nay the most innocent blessed *Maid*, whom the very Turks do honour at this day, & that she may not be thought the wors of for that, an angel from heaven saluted, by the mandate and in the name of him who is primogenial Life and substantial Truth, with the title of *αἰνεσιόπαις*, *Most beloved and Gracious*, escape not the lash of our lips and pens. And yet this is not all neither.

Do not I know that primitiv protestants in forreign parts have uttered, som more openly, som more obscurely, in their writings many odde words against the very honour of Jesus Christ himself, although our more moderate Church of England I am confident hates them for it. Did not *Calvin* taunt at his ignorance and passion, and too much haste for his breakfast, when he curst the figtree that had no fruit upon it, when he sought it? If he had studied
catholick

catholick divines, they would have taught him a more modest and pious interpretation, than that idle wicked one of his own. Did not *Michael Servetus* that bold apostate Spanish youth, speak openly amongst his fellow protestants in *Geneva*, that he wondered they had raised all their controversies, so many as they had, against the Church which is named the body of Christ, and yet never a one against Christ the head of that body? Did not *Valentine Gentile* that unhappy Italian, after he had revolted to *Calvin*, take it ill, that all the reformed Churches agreed yet with the papists, in the belief of a Trinity; And with him sided *Mathew Gribaldus*, *Lismanin*, *Francis David*, and *Jacobus Paleologus*, though this last recanted afterward, and returned happily to his catholick faith. And who knows not that *Luther*, *Brantius*, *Calvin*, *Suinglium*, yea and *Erasmus* too, who though he yet remained catholick, would be nibbling now and then at Arrian and Socinianisme, let fly many a secret dart at Christ and the sacred Trinity; though they were not yet so bold as to profess openly with some others of their brethren, whom they saw to suffer in their repute for it, any such opinion; till they found the world in a more forward disposition to accept it. And all these bent their bowes and fitted their arrows to the string, that if not openly, yet at least in the dark and in *Luna obscura*, as the Prophet phrases it, they might shoot and hit every thing that is sacred, even Christ himself. So true it is, that he who loves him that begets, love him that is begotten, and he that hates the one, does not truly love the other.

But the penmen of our Creed and Gospel, who made honourable mention of the *Virgin Mary*, were of another spirit, than we be, that so much dishonour her; although for fashion sake we read over those holy penmens words. A certain protestant bishop did not many years ago examine a catholick child that stood before him, if he could say his prayers; the boy replying yes, said first his *Pater Noster*;

Notter; after that began his *Ave Maria*, which catholicks use to repeat in memory of Christs incarnation. At which words, nay, quoth the bishop, *Let her alone, let her alone, we have nothing to do with her.* The child went on to his Creed, and when he came to *conceptus est de spiritu sancto natus ex-----* he sodainly stopt; and *She is here again, my Lord*, quoth the child, *she is here again, what shall I do with her now.* After a little pause, and rubbing of his forehead, *you may let her pass*, quoth the bishop, *in your Creed, in your Creed my child, but not in your prayers.* As though the confession of our faith to God were not a part of our prayer and duty to the Almighty.

But if we seriously consider the spirit of those who wrote either Gospel or Creed, we shall find that of Roman Catholicks, to have a most near consanguinity with it; and loving them we cannot hate these, for the respect they bear his virgin Mother whom we all worship.

§. 12. Figures.

IN all places where I came, I beheld great store of pictures and images in Churches of Roman catholicks; which being in the postures either of their bloody martyrdoms, which for their religion they underwent, or apostolical sacrifice, or sacred retirements, meditations, or other exercise of their faith hope or charity, either towards God or their neighbours, apostles, martyrs, confessours, hermits, monks, virgins, kings, queens, bishops, as they made a goodly show, so did they mightily assist the fancy unto a more united thought of the religion people came into the Church to fulfil and solemnise. The altar is seldom without the pourtraicts of *Jesus* and his *Virgin Mother*, never without the *Crucifix*. The sight of all which, is apt to cast into the mind of such as enter into the Church, that meditation of the apostle in his epistle to the Hebrews, *Non accessistis ad tractabilem montem & accensibilem*

ignem, &c. "Ye are not com to the high towring mount,
 "flaming fire and whirlwind, and darknes and storm,
 "and sound of trumpet, and nois of words, which they
 "that heard excused themselves, and requested to hear
 "it no more, and it seemed so terrible, that Moyſes
 "himself stood trembling and affrighted; but ye are
 "com to Mount Sion, to the city of our living God,
 "to celestial Jerusalem, and society of angels, the Church
 "of primitive Christians conscript in heaven, to God the
 "Judge of all, to the spirits of just perfect men, to Jesus the
 "mediatour of a new testament, and to the aspersion of
 "blood speaking better things then Abel.

And all these representations, so much conducing to devotion and piety as they do, the doctrine and men who tore them down and cast them out of our English Churches, and broke and hewed them in pieces with so much rage, could not be any friends, whatever they might pretend, either to our mount Sion, or the city of our living God, the celestial Jerusalem, society of angels, the Church of primitive Christians, or to the spirits of just men perfected, or to Jesus mediatour of the new testament, or lastly to the aspersion of blood speaking better things than Abel; all which was there pourtraicted and described.

It is the judgment of all men that the violation of an Image redounds to the Prototype. And therfor Kings not only in Christendom, but beyond it, use to punish a grand traitor either deceased or fled, even in his *effigie*. Every particular person loves to behold the picture of him he esteems, and again if he hate the person, he detests the face. Thus even our late rebels here in England, after they had murdered our good King, shot his pictures with bullets, and broke them with their cimeters and spears all the land over. *Thy adversaries*, saith the Prophet, *have roared and raged* in the midst of thy synagogues, and for *thy ensignes* have set up their own *banners*; as once of those who with strong axes cut up the thickest of *timber* unto the temples structure,

Sure, it was esteemed an honourable and noble work in
 them; so is it counted now, if any one on the contrary
 break in pieces *thy sculptures* with axe and hammers. They
 were Gods enemies then that did all this, and brake down
 his sculptures. And by those very works of theirs concluded
 to be his enemies by a great Prophet, who well enough un-
 derstood, who was Gods friend and who his foe. And he
 could not be ignorant of that, by the very knowledg he
 had of the law of Moses, which did as carefully forbid the
 violation of any thing sacred to the true God, as it com-
 manded the extirpation of all things, used by the gentiles
 in honour of their fals gods, to whom no such honour be-
 longed. "These are the precepts and judgments, saith
 "Moses, *Deut. 12.* which ye ought to do, in the
 "land which the Lord God of your fathers is to give
 "you, that ye may possess it all your dayes. Over-
 "throw all the places, wherein the Gentiles, whose pos-
 "sessions you enter upon, have worshipped; their gods
 "upon the high hills, under every green tree; dissipate
 "their altars, break their statues, burn their groves, dash
 "their idols in pieces, and destroy their names from the
 "earth. But ye shall not do so, to your Lord God. Ye
 shall not do so, in any of the forenamed particulars, saith
 Rabbi *Maimony* an eminent doctour amongst the He-
 brews, unto your Lord God, who deserves those and all o-
 ther sorts of worship at your hands. You shall not destroy
 his name, nor dash in pieces his images, nor burn his groves,
 nor break his statues, nor dissipate his altars, nor over-
 throw the places wherein he is worshipped. Your Lord is
 a jealous God, and will not have either the honour which
 is due to himself given to any other, nor that withheld
 him, which to himself is due. *You shall not do so to your*
Lord God. When therefor we set up the statues or build
 the altars of any fals god, we do as much as in us lies
 make him a true one. And when we either dissipate the
 altars, or break the images, or dash in pieces the statues,

or destroy the memorials of the true God, we make him a false one; the honour and dishonour don to the Figur, and things consecrated to his service and memory, still redounding upon him, in whose memory and service they were consecrated. And by this rule, when we dissipated the altars and brake the images of *Jesum Christ*, in that very day we did in effect deny him to be our Lord God any more. And no marvail then, we should fall into so many strang confusions about religion since that time; our *great Lord*, being so highly villified by our hands, and giving us up to the strang blindness and disorder, which is now amongst us.

If any would consider the constitutions and exigence of of mans natur, he would soon find not only the convenience, but necessity of such helps, as images and ocular representations afford us. For the fanſie hath nothing, but what it receivſ from the ſenſes; and the intellect works upon nothing, but what it has from fanſie. Therefore did God make man in the laſt place, after heaven and earth was framed, to the end, that in ſo great a variety of ſenſible objects, he might find ſomething to think of even in the firſt inſtant of his being. Whereas, if he had been made before other things, he had ſtood like a ſtock or ſtone, without any poſſibility of a thought. Now nothing adminiſters to the fanſie, and conſequently to the mind with that variety and life and power, as doth the eye. The ſupplies of the ear are but dead things to it, eſpecially in the account of exciting deſire and love. Let *Cicero* ſpeak a whole day, upon the beauties of a princely ſeat, countrey, city, man, or woman; yet when the eye comes once to ſee the thing in its own properties, it diſcerns and repreſents more at one glance, than could his or all the oratory in the world ever by the help of the ear imprint into the heart or mind. Indeed, who is ſo ignorant, that he has not obſerved ere this, that the eye has a hundred-fold the aſtuoſity of the ear. Nor is it unknown, what ſtrange melting affections are
cauſed

caused in the heart, by a continual sight and meditation of some sacred picture of the *Crucifix*, when sermons float by, and effect little or nothing in comparison; even as worldly objects, so long as they are couched in airy words, pass away like wind, but once seated in the throne of the eye they move impetuously. Nor can all the ministers in the world give a reason, why the eye in a sacred purpose may not have the helps of her species, as well as the ear have hers; or why the mind, that is to be moved, and can never be moved too much in such things, may not as well have the quicker as duller assistance. For when any one preaches upon the passion of Christ, does he do any thing else, but labour to work out such representations in the ear and mind as oratory may effect, for the moving of affections corresponding to such an object. And if such good meditations put into a book of devotion, be assisted with an ocular representation, which is more quick and full, and carries more of life with it, what harm is it. Surely, he that deprives me of the more lively helps, never means whatever he pretends, I should have any cordial feeling of the things he talks of.

And verily the Protestant pretences for their removal of Images out of our Churches are but simple ones. And the simpler they be, the better it seems they serve deluded vulgar. First they say, *God has in his commandments forbidden the making of graven images*: Good, and has he so? Do you not find too that he commanded it. See if he did not give order in the same Scripture for *Cherubims* and *Seraphims* to be made and set up in his *sanctum sanctorum* over the Ark? What then, did God or Moses forget himself, and contradict his own words? Or are you blind? Or only catholicks fools? Or what is the matter. Look seriously and you shall find, that *Moses* forbade prophane and foreign images, but he commanded his own. Though he disliked the ugly face of *Molech*, *Dagon* and *Astaroth*, yet did not he therfor will, his people should tear down his own

Cherubins. And Christians likewise have not any images of *Simon Magus*, although they have *S. Peters*. The *Crucifix* they will keep and use and honour, not the portrait of *Him* with a cloven foot. If they esteem the memory and effigies of great *Constantin*, yet not of wicked *Dioclesian*. If we find in their Churches the image of blessed *S. Benet* or good *S. Francis*, yet shall we never meet there with the face of *Luther* or *Calvin*. So that here in the catholick Church, as well as in Moses Law is both, *Thou shalt make graven images*, and again *Thou shalt not*.

Thus much Anticatholicks might themselves understand, if they would consider any thing seriously, by the very words of the text. *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven image*: not make to thy self. As if he had said, when you com into the *Canaan* amongst the gentiles, let none of you be inveigled either by their example or words, to make to himself any of the images he shall see there set up by the inhabitants, contrary to the ceremonies of Moses and practices of the synagogue, which doth so honour her own *Cherubins*, that she abominates all idols and their sculptures. And thus if any Catholick should make to himself, and upon his own head and fanzie, contrary to what is allowed, any peculiar image, of the planets for example, or wicked men, to worship it for sacred, I beleeve he will be punished for his transgression. So that images are not forbidden in the general notion of images, but only of such or such a kind; as if I should forbid my servant who travels with me into *France*, and keeps my purs, to make unto himself any clothes, I intend not that he shall go naked, but only that he make no clothes, but what, and when, and in what fashion I approve. Secondly, they say, it is idolatry. But this is spoken without logick. Except the thing represented be an idol, devil, or something opposie to God, or below man, whom yet he will worship; the honour and use of the image cannot be idolatry. If I may respect and love the person, I may love and respect the image too; sixth this

my esteem is terminated only upon the prototype: and that is no more than what nature it self teaches. *Moses* never feared idolatry with his own *Cherubins*, and yet he had as much reason to fear it, as the Christian Church can have. The honour of an image is but a natural resultancy from the exemplar represented in it; and this can be no other affection but what is due to that. As any man may perceive by four several images set before him, the first of his king, the other of his father, a third of his sweet-heart, a fourth of his mortal adversary: upon the sight of all which he conceivs, and can conceiv no other, but that passion he bears the prototype or thing resembled, honour to one, duty to the other, tender love to the third, and hateful disaffection to the last. Now that the Saints and angels of God, Spirits assisting to Gods glory and worship, and administering to our necessities deserv some veneration at our hands, is enough evident. And from the image can result no other but what is their due. As they be no Gods, so neither can their image make them so. The image of my enemy makes him not my sweet-heart; nor can the picture of my neighbour make him my king. And how can the representation of Gods saints and servants make them otherwise than what they are. But all these petty arguments are taken from the rancorous *Jewes*, who understood well enough all this I have here said, and were never bent against images in general, till they saw the Christians to keep and worship the Figure of *Jesus Christ*, whom they all hated.

And if Protestants can love *Jesus Christ crucified*, and hate the representation of his *cross*; which two things how they can consist together, no reason of man can comprehend: yet let us not maligne the *innocent Papists*, for doing that which the reason of all mankind allows. What person soever I may love, I may like his image also.

§. 23. *Tongues.*

THe catholick Liturgy is and ever was all over the Western Empire in the *Roman* language. This general custom of keeping both mass and bible in an unknown tongue from vulgar hands, as it may be made to carry with it a plausible surmise either of fraud or envy; so hath it been the great engine used by Protestants, both to draw and keep a vast number of people from the bosom of the catholick Church. The business of Scriptur I have already hinted at. Catholicks have the summe of scriptur both for history and dogme, delivered them in their own language, so much as may make for their Salvation, disentangled from the tropes and schemes and ambiguous phrases wherein it was first written; good orders being set and instituted for their proficiency therein. The summe of all divine truths belonging to Christianity, and the whole counsel of God for their direction and comfort, this have all Catholick Christians full and clearly delivered them out of holy writ, and all their whole duty both to God their neighbour and themselves, in their own language. Nor are they ignorant of any thing that appertains to sobriety, justice and piety. The whole sacred story of our Lords incarnation passion resurrection and ascension, all his sacraments, all the precepts & counsels of God, that may concern particular mens salvation or comfort, they have them all made known unto them, clear and disentangled from the various tropes and schemes of rhetorick or logick, so interwoven in the sacred Authours writings, that it puzzles the greatest clerk with all his various literature and science to understand the connexions, objections, solutions, transitions of discours, ambiguous phrases, hebraismes, grecismes, and such like obscurities that occurre; or to find out the drift and purpes and meaning of places; which do and have in all times caused mistakes and heresies in the world.

world. And of all these sacred truths which it concerns them to know and practice, Roman catholicks are at times put in mind by their Priests both from the chair and pulpit, at the altar, and apart from it, throughout the year to their daily edification. And I am perswaded and know assuredly that the word and will and counsel of God consists not in letters and syllables, much less in the tropes and several schemes and modes of logick and rhetorick, which do variously intangle the sacred writ above all books that have ever been penned by man, but in the sence and meaning which is easily made known. It is no hard matter for example to understand, That all men, both Jewes and gentiles, who have ever com to the knowledg of Christ, wer beholding to Gods mercy, purely to Gods mercy, for that their conversion, and the life and grace they had by it, which is the summe of S. Pauls epistle to the Romans: although to give an account how Saint Paul deduces and proves this in that his epistle, what arguments he doth either establish or refute, what modes and figures he uses, what tropes and rhetorical schemes be in his expressions, how he passes from one thing to another in his discours, and by what art of ratiocination the context of his whole letter is knit, this is neither easy to understand, nor necessary to any mans salvation to discern. And yet the epistle without all this knowledg cannot be understood, or rightly apprehended; and if it be falsely conceived, mistakes and heresies will rise. The will and mind and word of God this all people are to know; but the humanky and philosophy, that lies couched in holy writ, vulgar people neither can nor have need to to dive into it. This indeed is the main busines about this point; which I could wish my reader to mark diligently. Although I have other things to say, this is the main busines.

What needs then any more, than what Catholicks have? or why indeed should people be further permitted, either
to

to pleas curiosity, or raise doubts, or wrest words, or pervert examples recorded in those writings, unto their own ruin, as we see now by experience men are apt to do. The book is sacred, and therfor not to be thus sullied by every hand. What God hath sanctified, let not man make common. It is against the natur of a thing segregated to divine use, to be vulgarly mixt with our common utensils and touch and talkings, or to be prophanely wrested by the malice and ignorance of men unto purposes opposite to the holy penitents mind. If it be segregated, how is it mixed with such abuses; if it be holy, how is it profaned with misapplications; if it be mysterious, how can it be vulgar. And this is the judgment of the whole world, both present and past: Not only of Mahometans and Pagans, who evermore kept the book that spake forth the secrets of their religion still in that one language it was delivered in; but the Hebrews too, as well as the Christian Church. Nor was the Bible, the law of Moses, or the Prophets, or hagiography ever put out of hebrew into syrian or so much as written in the character of the vulgar tongue either in Moses time or after, either by his command or any permission of the high priests that followed. Nay, it was so far from that, that it was not touched or looked upon by the people in its own language or character, but kept privately in an ark or tabernacle, and brought forth at times to the priest, who might upon the sabboth day, which is our saturday, read som part of it to the people, and put them in mind of their laws, religion and duty in particular: wherof they had before, a general knowledg enough for their conversation, if they would heed it as they ought, confirmed by daily practise before their eyes. Whereas the Christian Bible is in the hands of all who understand either greek or latin, and have vertue and wit enough to use it. So great is the indulgence of the Catholick Church, and so good an opinion hath she above all others of her children; though every one is not permitted to prattle & dispute about it, as I think

no wise man will think it fit they should. And this reticencies of sacred doctrine and rare approach unto the eye and ear in its own method and phrase, works in the minds of people a wonderfull great awe and impression of respect which is due unto it, whereas familiar usage render it contemptible. After that sacred book becomes once to be lightly thrown about, with ordinary touch and tongue, what doth it work, but self will and conceit, contentions, pride, schismes, and wars. Experience hath proved all this. For every one hath a text both to defend himself and oppose his neighbour, whether it be in earnest, or, as it oftentimes happens, in sport and jest, whether wrong or rightly applied.

Nor can the Bible indeed be well translated. For the original carries oftentimes so great a latitude and amplitude of senses, that it cannot be brought into a vulgar tongue, without confining the signification, to the great alteration, and perhaps subversion of the holy penman's intention. Besides, when men write or speak with a special peculiarity of spirit, as all indeed do, but those holy writers much more; this *genius* of theirs is so lapt up in their own words or sounds, that by transmigration out of the coverture, in which that Spirit was born and bred, as a snail in her shell, it doth in a manner quite expire and vanish. We find daily, that books translated out of one tongue into another lose much of their connatural grace and sweetness, if not all the whole genuine power and life they carried in their own character. So ticklish and volatile a thing is that hidden *genius* couched in the find of mens words. Nor is a man better known by his face than writings; I mean, if he draw his discours and sens out of his own bowels. For otherwise, if he be only a book botcher or collector out of other authours, it will signifie little; which I take to be the reason, why many spiritual books written in these times out of ancient contemplatives, although the matter is the same and the language mended, yet be they in these penmen but dry

dry unsavory stuff, which in the first authour was a fragrant ravishing devotion. The good things therein contained have by their transmigration lost their own spirit; and the latter authour, if so I may call him, had not another to give them, answerable to their natur. By all this I would say thus much, that the Bible translated out of its own sacred phrase into a prophane and common one must needs lose both its own property and amplitude of meaning, and also its peculiar majesty, and spirit: which is reason enough, if there were no other, why it should be kept inviolate in its own stile and speech: although the summe and substance of the doctrine is some other way necessarily to be derived and conveyed to the people whose salvation it aims at. And as for peoples particular instructions, it is, as I said before, made by the priests and pastors of the religion, on whose lips the sacred knowledg hangs and thence drops down upon the assembly acquainted before in general with all the dictats of their religion, out of that book, according to occasion and times, as holy *Church*, whose book it is, shall judg it fit. We commit not to children the whole pot of *honey*, which in a deep intangled vessel they cannot reach, but give it them out, in a stick of licoras, so much as they can digest and make use of for their health.

And if the book it self wherein religious rites be grounded, lawfully may, and in reason ought, and in practise ever hath been kept segregated, in a language not common to vulgar ears, much more are the sacred solemn rites themselves, to be performed in a tongue that is segregated from common use, answerable to the Book according to which they be executed. This custom as it renders that great *Alt* more venerable, so doth it carry with it much of convenience, and no inconvenience at all. For thus the Church all over the world, as opposite to *Babel*, wherein were so many divisions of tongues, shall, as in heart and faith, so also in lip and language be unanimous and linked together. And the great work of Religion wherein all Christian people from

one coast of heaven to another do unanimously conspire, be so uniformly executed, that men may in all places of the world meet with their own Christian Church in one mode and fashion, both to acknowledg and join with it in their prayers. Nor could otherwaies any one priest serve in several countie's, or administer presently in a place, which himself or others with him had converted. For which cause men studying to get that one language, which is stretched as large and wide, as is the catholick Church throughout the world, have in all places one tongue, and that no hard one to convers withal; which, did not the Church use it in her rites, would in time be utterly neglected. The Hebrew Church being immured in one kingdom, had not those many reasons which her younger sister, whose territories are extended from East to West hath, to keep her rites in a language differing from the vulgar; and yet she did so.

Inconvenience in this practis there can be none assigned, but only this; that if the latin tongue be used at the altar, then cannot the vulgar people understand what is said. But this is not of any moment. For the people have all the whole scope and purpos and frame of sacred liturgie, set down in their own prayer-books, and if they will, in their hearts and mind; wherby they may, if they pleas, as equally conspire, and go along with the priest in their devotions, as if he spake in the mother tongue, and they hear and understand him as much now as they would do then. Secondly catholick people come together, not for other business at the Mass but only with fervour of devotion to adore Christ crucified, in that rite he is there figured as crucified before them, and by the mediation of that sacred blood to pour forth their supplications for themselves and others; which being don, and their good purpos of serving and pleasing that holy Lord that shed his blood for us renewed, they depart in peace. This is the general purpos of the Mass; so that eyes and hands to lift up, knees to bow, and hearts to melt, are there of more use, than ears

to hear. But thirdly there is no need at all for the people to hear the Priest, when he speaks and prayes and sacrifices to God in their behalf. Sermons to the people must be made in the peoples language; but prayers presented to God for them, if they be made in a language that God understands, it is enough. *how can they pray with him*

This was well enough conceived by the whole congregation of Israel who commonly stood in vast multitudes without, in a large outward court, when the Priest entered the *Sancta*, to offer and pray for them, who all the while were so far from hearing, that they could not see him. This if any doubt, he may both discern it in the old law, and in our gospel too; where *Zacharias* is said to be praying at the altar, when all the people stood without. Why then may not likewise the youngest sister Church of Christians, please and pacify her heavenly father, with sacred words and rites addressed unto him in the behalf of the people, although these do not understand, nay not so much as hear what is said. And what matters it, if I pray for a friend, whether he hear me or no, so that God unto whom I pray, do hear and accept of my humble addresses. *S. Paul* wrote to Rome from Corinth, most heartily in his letters requesting their prayers; and he esteemed it as good, as if he had himself been by and heard it; and yet the catholick altar is not so far from the people, as Corinth is from Rome. Wherefor in *S. Pauls* judgment one may pray for another, not only priest for the people, but people also for the priest, without being understood, and so much as either heard or seen. Nor could *S. Paul* in his own reason, ever deny the efficacy of those prayers, which he made for another in any whatever language. For it was all one to him, what language the Romans spake. And if he did reflect upon it, he could not be ignorant, that they spake not the language of Corinth, when he wrote to them from thence, that they should pray for him there, at so great a distance.

But if any will yet be obstinate, and object unto me, that *S. Paul* himself even in his epistle he wrote to Corinth from Ephesus, which was his first letter he sent to that people, speaks there about the end of the same letter, very much against their praying and prophesying in an unknown tongue. He may know first, that even the tongue of the Romans, whose prayers notwithstanding *S. Paul* so earnestly requested at Corinth, was an unknown tongue to those that lived there; and yet that wise apostle would not we may think contradict himself. Secondly then, what was the matter? The business was this. There was in the primitive Churches up and down, many gifts and gratuities bestowed upon Christian people by that holy Spirit, who would thereby exalt the gospels glory, as extemporary prophecies, working of miracles, gift of tongues, and the like; and *S. Paul* hearing at Ephesus of some disorders in Corinth upon that account, as those kind of gifts are possible to be abused, he wrote to them about it, to let them know that the spirit of *Jesum* for such his voluntary donations unto men was indeed to be praised; but yet that Christians should not therefore place in those thing their utmost glory. And then to diminish further, the huge esteem they had there of gifts and tongues before all other, he lets them know, that of all other gifts, that in particular was liable to the greatest inconveniencies, even far more than either wonder-working or prophecy. This is the apostles drift, as any one may see that understands a grave and sober letter. But what is all this to the general service of the Church. He that would declare the peculiar talents and gifts that God has bestowed upon him, must do it in a language that is understood: but the Priest at the altar does not sacrifice or pray for that end.

But thirdly that I may make the thing yet a little plainer; the Latin in which the Catholick service is kept, is not in order to the Church any unknown tongue, and therefore that objection of no value against it. There is no tongue

tongue in the world can be said absolutely either a known tongue or unknown, but only with relation unto people. And so every language in the world, is in respect of some people a known tongue, and in respect of others an unknown. English is an unknown tongue to Vienna, not to London: high Dutch is an unknown tongue to London, not to Vienna. And therfor, that we may conclude a tongue to be known or unknown, we must compare it to the family or people, in reference to whom it is used, and no otherwis. And that family or people must be considered, not in any other respects, if they have many, but only in relation to that particular rank or order which refers unto such a language. An English merchant living in Antwerp, hath two languages which himself and family speaks, English and Dutch: and both of them in reference both to England and Holland jointly, may be called both known tongues, and unknown. But in his business with the English, Dutch is the unknown tongue, in his Holland affairs, English. So the Pope, as he is governour and lord of the city of Rome, speaks Italian as other people there do; and it is the only known tongue in that degree and order. But as he is pastour of the whole Church spread over the earth, which is a mystical body distinct from the body politick, and hath a language of its own, differing from the Italian, that passes through Germany, France and Spain, both Indies and the Islands, the north and south world, whersoever Christians live, so he uses and speaks that general language which is latin. And in that sense Italian is an unknown, and Latin only the known tongue of the Christian world. So that in order to religion, that one language that is spoken not in one corner, but runs quite through the hous, and is common to all, as they be ranked in the series of Christianity, wherein they are trained up by the father of the family, and which in reference to religion he only uses himself, is the only known tongue in order to it, and all other tongues unknown. This not
latin

latin but dutch, not latin but spanish, not latin but french, not latin but English, is an unknown tongue to the Christian world. For all these, though they be the known languages of particular kingdoms, which be but a corner of Christianity; yet not these, but latin is the known language of the whole Christian body and family throughout the world. The house of God is but one in it self, although it be dispersed over several nations, and the language fitted for the body, must consequently be but one; wherein all those nations are united and linked together exteriorly, even as they be joined interiorly in faith, which in that one tongue is carried up and down and conserved. And all other tongues, English, french, spanish be accidental to Christians, as they be Christians, even as the times and places of their abode be; nor be they fastned unto them by their Christianity, but by corporal birth and education, which be contingent and altogether accidental to religion. So then Latin in reference to religion; which for reasons abovenamed must use one language, is so far from being an unknown tongue, that it is the only one known language of the Christian world, united to Christian faith, as the proper garment to a body, by whose fashion it is discerned. *very weak arguments*

I know that a part of the Church useth greck in her Liturgy; and some few people Hebrew, as well as the generality does Latin. But I mention only the Latin tongue, because my countrymen take notice only of that. And all the three languages agree in this, that they are segregated from vulgar use, consecrated by the cross of the Messiah, approved by the general Pastour, and equally liable to the present objection, which is so trifling that it casts not the least blemish upon Popery for that custom. And I hope all wise men will be of my mind. If men did but know the nature of the Christian Liturgy, and what it is for; they would never make any such objection on that part. Such as stand disaffected to popery should methinks be thank-

full to the Pope, for keeping his *Mass* and *Psalter* in such an unknown tongue. For so our vulgar, if they should be curious to see it, yet can they neither be converted by what they hear unto catholick religion, nor so much as discern that our own English communion-book, is drawn out of the popish Breviary and Missal. To revile and hate a custom whence we do our selves receiv so much benefit, and no body any harm, is *fals latin* in morality.

§. 24. *Table.*

EVen as to pleas the people and to draw and keep them from the catholick Church, we threw the Bible amongst them, telling them withal, that as it is easie to understand, so is every man inabled to interpret, although our Protestant Church does now too late repent it, and wish with all their hearts it had never been done: so likewise another plausible advantage we took against the Pope and Church, wherein those people communicate now commonly though under both kinds, yet but one of them consecrated, by giving all communicants a spoonful of wine together with their mouthful of bread either both or neither of them blest; telling the people withall, that they receiv in both kinds, the Catholick but in one. This if it be rightly stated, is our case in hand.

But let me argue a little after my plain manner for a people not irreligious. Protestant countreyemen you cannot but know, at least you ought to know, that the catholick Church uses the cup in communion, as much as we in *England* do, and in sacrifice more. For so I distinguish at this time, that the sacrifice is for the priest, communion for the people; more I say than we do or ever mean to do. For the deacon or minister at the altar, after the priest has communicated the people with the host, carries the cup after him to all the said communicants to drink: before which action of communion, the Priest to figure Christ's passion

passion upon the altar, and his blood effused, had both consecrated and consummated both kinds himself. And yet you say, that Catholicks have not the cup in communion; concealing what you ought to acknowledg, both that their people have as much as ours, and that the priest consecrates and consummates both, which no others do. Oh but you will say, they give not the people the consecrated chalice; which is the very blood of Christ! very good, no more do Protestants. Do we give the people any more than a cup of natural wine? They do so too. If you answer, it is blest wine; know and remember, that when you speak against the catholick Priests consecration, O then that blessing is nothing. But when you would argue against the communion in one kind, then it is a great matter with you. So likewise your own blessing of the cup when you talk against Puritans, 'tis a great and venerable secret; but when you plead against Catholicks, then 'tis but an empty ceremony. Where shall any one hold such slippery eels. May not Anti-Romans be ashamed to say, that Catholicks use not the cup, which they use as much as any, and to as much effect as we will allow it to be used, and yet more too? The catholick people in communion, I must say it again that I may be understood, do drink of such a cup as Protestants affirm to be the onely cup and no other; and over and above this, communicate the very body of their Redeemer, animated with his soul and sacred blood, and hypostatically united to his deity; which thing Protestants neither do, nor will allow, although Gospel do both direct and command it. And yet we will be talking of I know not what defect of catholick communion, not remembering too, as we forget other things, that all the vertue of communion is attributed by Protestants, only to our feeding upon Christ by faith; which no man can deny; but that it may be totally don and compleated, without touching either bread and drink. And therfor have some of them mightily laboured to make good, when our

Lord saith in *S. John*, *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed*, that he speaks not one word of sacramental eating or drinking, but only of feeding upon him spiritually, by the mouth of faith. May not Catholics say the like, to any text that shall be brought for the peoples communion of the chalice? He is surely a mad man, that so belabours his adversary in one argument, that by the same he knocks out his own brains in another. So then Protestants take from the people, both the real body and blood of Christ united and effused, and then exclaim against Catholics for not using the effused species, as well in communion, as sacrifice. We who hold neither as we ought, condemn them for withholding one who hold both; and call that in them a sacrilege, which we our selves esteem but a ceremony. The catholick Church feeds her people with real meat, we feed ours with signs and husks. Though others might upbraid the withholding of one kind, if it were so, yet surely we cannot ingeniously do it, who have taken away the reallity of both. Whatsoever Protestants do truly hold and teach concerning this sacrament, the same do catholicks, from whom they had it, maintain too: and what more ought to be don, the Catholick Church does it, and Protestants do it not. Must we feed upon Christ crucified by faith? Catholics do it; and it is the very end of their religion. Must the Eucharist be taken in remembrance of him, and commemoration of his death? They do it. Must both kinds be blest and taken? They do that too. Must the people drink wine out of a cup in communion, Catholick people do the like. On the other side, Catholicks do really partake of the animated and living body of their Redeemer: this ought to be don, to the end we may have life in us: and yet Protestants do it not. Catholics have it continually sacrificed before their eyes, and the very death and effusion of their Lords blood figured, and set forth before them, for faith to feed upon. This Protestants have not, they do it not; and yet this ought to be

be don. For so our Lord commanded, when he said to his apostles, *Hoc facite*, this do ye, which you have seen me to do, and in that manner you see me do it, exercising before your eyes my priestly function according to the order of *Melchizedech*, with which power I do also invest you, and appoint you to do the like, even to the consummation of the world, in commemoration of my death and passion, exhibiting and shewing forth your Lords death till he com. This I say Protestants do not, and we are mad angry, that the Papist does what his redeemer enjoined him. Thus far *ad hominem*.

The consecrated challice is not indeed ordinarily now given by the priest to people in communion as it been in some ages of the Church, and may be so again. For as it is not absolutely necessary to any effect of communion; so neither is therin gospel any precept for it. It is not necessary unto any effect, either in the Protestants way which is fals, or in the Catholick way which is true. In the Protestants doctrine, all the effect of communion is wholly attributed to the operation of faith; and Christs words, say they, are to be taken spiritually & not literally, for flesh and blood profiteth nothing. And therefore according to them one kind is enough, nay if we have neither kind, there is no loss, but only of a ceremony, which may be supplied well enough at our ordinary tables. According to catholick doctrine, whole Christ is really under either kind, and so it is indifferent in which kind we receive. But it is not expedient ordinarily to communicate all men under the liquid species, for danger of effusion, as would sometimes happen in assemblies severally disposed. And yet there may be reason by circumstance of the person, to communicate rather in the liquid kind than the other; as when the communicant is young or sick, and not able to take down the other. And therefore in antient times, such people were ordinarily communicated in the liquid species only, by the help of a *spatula lingua*, or little pipe made on

purpose for that use. And for aught I know it may so be done still, upon the like occasion. As for any precept of communicating under both kinds, I never heard or read of any. None hath the great mother Church delivered, either in her gospel, or out of it. For all the whole passage of the last supper, whence Anticatholicks do principally ground their reasonings, concerns only the sacrifice; how the apostles and their successors should consecrate and bless it; what they should take to bless and consecrate; and how they should consummate after consecration. And ther is not there, any word or fact, concerning the communicating of people; nor were ther in that time and place any lay people at all to be communicated, either man woman or child, but they were all excluded. And if a man would draw negativ arguments, as som do, out of scripture, he might conclude out of that place that lay people are to receive in neither kind, sooner then in both. And although learned Saint *Paul* may insinuate in his epistles, that even the laicity did partake of Christs body, yet it may readily be answered in the Protestants own grounds, if he did plainly say so, that he spake not of a corporal but spiritual communion.

Indeed although the figuring of our Lords passion or sacrifice be determined even by gospel to be done in both kinds, yet the whole manner of giving communion to the laicity, is wholly left to tradition, and to the judgment and disposition of the Church: which appears more probable, for that the catholick Church hath according to her own prudence unto som persons in som times and places used only the communion of the chalice, to others only the sacred bread, to others both; no man ever finding fault therewith, or startling at it, as any new thing. And if we consider the scrupulousnes of former ages, we cannot but think, they would have risen up and excepted against this, if it had been deemed either new or ill; or if it had not been in the breasts of all good Christians preconceived
and

and fully known, to be totally arbitrary and in the Churches power, to communicate the people either in both kinds or only one, and of the two in which she pleased, or thought most fitting for the condition of the communicant. This was certainly the opinion, which Christians ever had concerning communion. But as for consecration, it seems necessary to the integrity of the sacrifice, and the fruit thereof to the whole Church, and determined under a precept that it should be made in both kinds. For so it was instituted, to declare and set forth before our eyes the Passion of Christ and his blood effused, of which it could not be a compleat figure or representation, except both kinds were consecrated, and so the effusion exprest. It was to exhibit whole Christ crucified, both *quoad continentiam* and *quoad significationem*, as well his presence as the signification of his passion, which signification is not requisite in communion, where the thing contained is received, and not the signification or mode exprest.

This indifferent use of communion amongst the ancient Christians in either kind, sometime one, sometime the other, sometimes both, is enough to verifie that of S. Paul, if it be taken, as it ought to be, in the literal sense; *We are all partakers of one bread and of one cup*. For though either kind were lawfull for any one, yet that any one kind was sufficient, one may easily see was the opinion of that good Apostle, by what he speaks in the foregoing comma; *Whosoever shall eat this bread or drink this cup of our Lord unworthily*, &c. And v. 24. and v. 25. repeating the institution as our Lord delivered it, makes him after the consecration of the bread, say absolutely, *Do this in commemoration of me*; but after the consecration of the chalice he speaks with a limitation, *Do this as oft as ye shall drink it in commemoration of me*. So that the particle (*And*) in the other text, must needs be taken disjunctively, when he saith, *we are all partakers of one bread and of one cup*; that is to say, all of us either partake of both, or each one at

least either of one, or the other: which manner of speech is very ordinary in all languages; *Mulier est domui salus & ruina*, A woman, saith the proverb, is the safety and ruin of a house; yet not conjunctively, or both together, but either the one or the other, according as she is her self either wise or foolish. And nothing is more usual in common speech, than to use this particle *And* disjunctively, when we speak unto many, or of many at once. Ten men rising from a feast may say, we have fed heartily to day of flesh, fish, and fowl; though one might haply eat only of one kind, another of another, as it chanced, and not any one of all.

If a man do seriously peruse either the Gospel, or Acts of the Apostles, wherein is delineated the primitive religion of Christians, he may easily gather, that communion then was thought sufficient under one kind, and that the species of *Bread* was most usual to such as were in health. For first, Gospel speaks of as much effect of this one kind, as of both. *This is a bread com down from heaven that if any eat thereof he dies not*, John 6. 50. Again, *he that eats of this bread shall live for ever*, v. 25. *If any one eateth me ite same shall live by me*, v. 58. And he never there compares himself to wine; as he does to bread, nor mentions the drinking as he does the eating of him. *We are one bread and one body*, saith S. Paul, *all that do partake of one bread*, 1 Cor. 10. 13. And what is there more to be expected, but union with Christ and his mystical body, immortality and life eternal with him, which all follow upon our worthy communicating of the sacred bread. Secondly, when our Lord brake bread with his disciples in *Emas*, and so disappeared, very great and ancient divines do teach, that he did before them the same sacramental act he had himself instituted, and don aforetime before his Apostles, and by that he was discerned: which interpretation is very probable. For there be set down the same words and gestures, *He took bread and blessed, and brake*

ake it and gave it to them, *Luke* 24. 30. And if it were then it seems the cup was not thought necessary either by Christ himself, or his disciples. Otherwise neither Christ would have don his work imperfectly, and vanished before he had given them the cup; nor would the disciples have judged him by so doing to be their master, but some evil spirit or impostour, as who had kept the cup from them, against their right. Nay by this example it seems that the very consecration it self may be dispenced in case of necessity, to be don only in one kind, though the compleat sacrifice and mode of signification would be unexpressed. Thirdly in the first and second chapters of the *Acts of the Apostles*, where mention is purposely made of the religious assemblies of the Christians and their sacred *Synaxis*, there is much speech there of their breaking of bread, but not any word of the use of a cup amongst the people. And it is enough insinuated, as well directly in these forenamed places, that that was the religious work of the primitive Christians, as it is indirectly afterwards, c. 20. One day of the *sabboth* saith the text, *when we came together to break bread*. No mention being made any where in all that book of the chalice at all. So that I must conclude, as I said before, that the communion of the chalice is neither necessary to any effect of the sacrament, nor expedient to be generally practised; nor is ther in Gospel or sacred writ, any either precept or presedent for it. But the authority and practis of the catholick Church descended from the Apostles, is in this, as in all other points, the best and most irrefragable convincing argument, which *S. Paul* in another case kept for his best and last refuge, 1 *Cor.* 11. *If any one saith he will be contentious, we have no such custom, nor the Church of God*. And if ther be no such custom now in the Church of God, let not any of us be any further contentious. The Apostles were bid all of them to drink, as they were bid to eat; becaus both parts are to be consummated after consecration, as now they are in the
Catholick

Catholick Church. And indeed our Lord having told them before, that one was his body, the other his blood effused, if he had not given order for it, they durst not either have eat or drank without his licence and command.

§. 25. *Saints.*

I Do not remember, that ever I took in my hands any catholick *Breviary* or *Missal*, or other prayer book, but it had prefixed before it a calender or catalogue of great *Saints* amongst them, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessours, Virgins, of whom the Catholicks keep a very respectfull memory, as of the Temples wherein God did once dwell, and work wonders in the Church. And although this act and custom of theirs be made by our voluntary interpretation a thing of much offence and scandal against them, yet looking upon it with an unprejudiced eye I cannot discern it to be any other than the civility of a due respect. For what ingenious noble spirit, would not do as much for the great hero's of his own family that have upheld and innobled the house. And what saies Christ? would he not have it don so to his? Surely if these things had not been don in his Church, but all memorials of him and his blotted out, according to the fanisie of every reformer, we had had by this no more certainty of him than of *Jove* or *Mercury*. But what saies he therfor? *He that loves me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him and make my mansion in him, &c. He that leaves father or mother for my sake shall sit upon thrones, &c. He that shall overcome and keep my words unto the end, I will give him power over nations, as I have received from my father, and I will give unto him a morning star, &c.* and the like promises of glory, I stand not now to mention. And I should think, whom God and Christ so highly honours, that we may honour them too, nay I beleeve we should. For a good servant ought to respect him, his master loves. And what are we afraid of?

least

least people by much reflecting upon such eminent examples of virtue, should be moved thereby to imitate them? What can it be els? If saints were proposed and described unto us, like *Mars*, *Jove* and *Venus*, eminent both actors and patrons of vice, then we might justly blame it. But who can dislike an example of heroick virtue, though it were in a Romance. And all those saints, even from the first of *January* to the last of *December*, are so commended for their sacred retirement, ravishing contemplations of Gods love and the life to come, carnal mortifications and castigations of body, fastings, abnegations of themselves, excessive charity, daily renewed resolutions against the world flesh and devil, and valarous attempts for the love of Jesus, to justify his truth and Gospel even to the effusion of their bloods, that we read nothing els of them; all which is but what Christ and his apostles both by example and word, either prescribed, or at least counselled both them and us to do. And who can make bitter gibing invectives against them and their legends, but only he who is an enemy to the virtues there commended? What my self and others in England have read and heard against the Popish *Saints* it would be tedious to speak; but I find it to be the spirit and genius of them that depart from Popes religion. *Luther* the *Hector* rampant, was excellently dextrous at this feat of disabling persons of renown; and before him his grandfire *Wicleph*, who publickly affirmed that *S. Austin*, *S. Bennet*, *S. Bernard*, and other such like men were damned in hell for founding religious orders; yea and even *John Calvin* himself that holy faced man, was so intemperately given to this theiomachy, that he opened his mouth not only against all saints and their memorials in the register of the Church, but even the renowned persons both of the old and new testament canonised in holy writ; *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Rebecca*, *Jacob*, *Rachel*, *Job*, *Moyser*, *Josuah*, *David*, *Elias*, *Jeremias*, *Daniel*; The B. Virgin *Mary*, *S. Joseph*, *S. Mary Magdalen*, *Martha*, the *hermits*

marroiss Woman, S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Matthew, S. Luke, S. Zacharias the husband of Elizabeth, and S. Denys Areopagite, &c. And his own words against all these I could easily set down, but that I would not tire my reader, nor foul my paper with his detracting unseemly speeches. But I should, being left to my own reason, shrewdly suspect him to be an enemy to virtue, whom I find to calumniate and disable all those persons, who by authentick history are so much commended for it, and by the same proposed unto us as an ensample of our lives. It is not only their due, but our benefit to keep the memory of saints before us.

Besides, that man cannot easily forget his own immortality after our deceas, who often ruminates upon such vertuous presidents, whom being dead he honours as yet living. Honourable mention of *Saints* deceased, proves an immortality of the soul, and this immortality renders the saints even after their deceas still more honourable. So that he who honours them, must needs believ this, and he that truly beleeves this, will be apt to honour them. *I am God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, God is not the God of the dead, but of the living;* so argues and disputes our Lord Christ, proving our immortality after this life by the honourable mention of souls departed. And his argument is good and very subtil, For if God be the God even of souls departed, then souls departed are not nothing, but som subsisting thing; for God cannot be said to be the God of that which is not. And these two effects, a beleeif of our immortality, and a pronenes to imitate their good works so highly crowned, hath this memorial of saints wrought all over the catholick world, where ther is not a man but will urge himself sometime or other, for the respect he bears to such a glorious saint, who by shedding his blood or mortifying his body magnified God and his religion upon earth, to do something either of penance or charity superabundant, over and above what he should have

have thought upon himself, without that help, in imitation of the good pattern of him, who being once a man compassed with the same infirmities that we now be, hath shewed us notwithstanding both by his life and doctrine, that such good works are both feasible by frail man, and very commendable too, and beneficial even to the reward of never ending glory. And to this end do Catholicks read their Saints lives, labouring each one to the degree of his devotion, to rais up in himself the lively sparkles of hope faith and charity, by those examples, which he sees not confined only to the one age of the apostles, but translucent in all times and places, by his continued goodness to his Church whose mercy endureth for ever.

Nor are those Saints lives so prodigious and incredible, as we in England take them to be, I speak of solid authenticated legends. I have my self seen with mine own eyes, and known hundreds of living men, that have equalled them in those practises. And he that knows the vigorous nature and life of Gospel, where it is really put to practise, & not only verbally profess, will wonder at nothing. *If ye say to this mountain, Remove hence, saith our Lord, to a right believer all things are possible.* I am confident by what I have seen my self, that ther be now, as bad a world as it is, an immens number of people among Catholicks, as eminent in all perfections, as ther have been in any age; and som of them equal too even to the glorious Saints of old, whose legends we read, For thousands of people do make it their very profession, even as people here in London set up and profess a trade, to lead their lives exactly according to the tenour of gospel, noting every evening before they sleep, all the deviations even of their very thoughts, and making resolutions in the morning, for the renewed practise of all such vertuous actions, that may probably lye in their way; and in particular, such a vertue to day, that to morrow, this in the third: and so they end their lives. All the catholick world knows, I do not lye. And all this is don, not
by

by any force of nature, but against it; by the meer power and vertue of their religion; whereby I have known many men to subdue corrupt nature, even to amazement and miracle. And the various examples both of good people yet alive, and of eminent saints departed, whose cells, and vestments, and beads, and books are yet reserved amongst them, encourage Catholicks unto this vertuous adventure, while not only by sight of their lives who live amongst them, and of the mortified figures of the holy persons deceased, and bloody necks of their martyrs, but also by sermons and the continual rites of the Church, prefiguring before them the conversation and passion both of Jesus himself, and his many glorious followers who have imitated his steps, that none might think but that the same life might be led though not in the same degree, and the same valour be shown in undergoing both carnal castigations and death even by meer man, through the grace of him who strengthens us to all things, they are made continually to remember and seriously lay to heart, both what they are to do and whom to imitate; by which reflections they are more moved towards all the good works of piety, than without them such a poor weak spirit as man is, housed in mouldring clay, could ever be.

And that this hath bin the practis of the Christian Church in all times to set before the people the lively pourtraicts of their holy and well deserving foregoers, for their greater incitation unto semblable good works, unto which their religion calls them, I could easily show throughout all ages; but that I intend here to speak no more, then what may somewhat allay the preconceived prejudice we have taken up against the Popes religion, especially in the few particulars I touch upon; of which I speak no more, than what I think may suffice to unbeguile such as list seriously to ruminate upon the truth. And if in these things which seem harder to us their caus be just, I should think the lesser prejudices should fall away of themselves, and we at length love
one

one another as we ought. For no man I think, does willingly hate the innocent. Only two testimonies of the primitive respect unto saints and their images amongst Christians, taken not out of the bowels of the Church, but from her enemies, one from the Jew, the other from the Pagan, sufficiently known in history, I cannot but here mention. The Jews in the first three ages of the Church even from the Apostles to *Constantin* the great, accused the Christians not only in private, but even before the Roman Emperours and Senate, of three great violations of Moses law; first, that they *broke the Sabbath*, and had turned it from the seventh day of the week unto the first, making that holiday which *Moses* ordained for work, and that a working day which *Moses* made holy: secondly, that they *worshipped images of their saints*, and kept them not only in their houses but in their oratories and chappels: thirdly that they brought in a *strange God*, (*Jesus Christ* they meant) which neither they nor their forefathers knew: all which seemed expressly against the letter, not only of the general law, but of the two tables of the ten Commandements. The Pagan all over the Empire laughed at the Christians, for three ridiculous worships of theirs: namely of a *bearded God*; of the *priests knees*; of an *asses head*: the first wherof proves the primitive sacrifice, of which I have already spoken; the second their confession; the third their use and respect they had of images. For the Jews had defamed *Jesus Christ* our Lord, whose head and half portrait Christians used upon their altars even as they do at this day, amongst other things of his great simplicity and ignorance.

Some will haply say, if this were all that is don to saints, to keep the picture and read the lives of such renowned personages, who consecrated themselves to Gods glory and service; for the incitement of our affections unto the like vertuous atchievements, I should not much blame it. But papists over and above this do pray to *saints* too,
and

and that is no waies excusable. Give me leav to reply to this. That which you now say you cannot much blame, has bin made so odious, that never a Catholick in England durst for this hundred years so much as let a *Crucifix* hang in his chamber, least both he & it should be torn asunder by us. And what you judg inexcusable, their praying to saints, which I have so often heard and read in our protestant Churches and books objected so eagerly and constantly against them, when I found it otherwaies than we in England conceiv it to be; I was glad both for their sakes and ours too.

I did therfor curiously examin and turn over the whole Roman *Breviary* and *Missal*, which is the devotion of the Catholick Church, and contains, almost a fourth part of it, a commemoration of several *Saints*, according to the daies of the year, wherein they flitted hence into a better life. And I did not meet with so much as any one prayer, addressed to any saint or angel of heaven, no not upon those daies wherein commemoration of them is made; but directed all of them, from the very first prayer to the last, unto God the father, by Jesus Christ, in the unity of the holy Ghost, either exprest or implied. And their practis herein is conform to ancient tradition, confirmed by their own law, in a council at *Carthage*, under Pope *Siricius* an. 397. wherein it was declared and ordained, that all publick prayers of the Church should be made directly unto God the Father. And Catholicks even upon a saints day, making their prayer to God, beg of him and only of him, amongst other their requests, that the good works of such a saint in whom he glorified himself, may speak better things for them, than they can themselves deserve. For example upon *S. Bennets* day, *Intercessio nos quasumus Domine Benedicti Abbatis commendet, ut quod nostris meritis non valemus ejus patrocinio assequamur, &c.* Upon the feast of *S. Francis*, O God who by the merits of *S. Francis* dost enlarge thy Church with a new off-spring, grant unto us by the imitation of him, to despise earthly things

things and enjoy celestial, &c. And so run all the other prayers of the Church, wherein any invocation of saints is made, directed ever unto Almighty God by his son Jesus Christ.

And this is no more, than what was ever don in the Hebrew Church, both before and after Christianity was in the world, as the works of ancient Rabbies can witness, and no less holy writ it self, when it makes almighty God, sooner as it were condescending to the peoples petition, by the mediation of the merits of glorious patriarchs, whom he singularly favoured, and his wrath and displeasure against the Jews then at a height, when he refuses to hear those saints in their behalf. *If Moses and Samuel, saith the sacred text, Jer. 15. should stand before me, yet is not my soul unto this people:* that is to say, he would not in the behalf of such desperate wicked people, accept of the prayers even of those saints that were most dear unto him. And this was spoken by the Prophet, long after *Moses and Samuel* was dead. Long before this, the Patriarch *Jacob* does most plainly insinuate this custom of saints invocation, as ordinary and familiar among the Hebrews; when being to bless his two nephews *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*; he speaks thus. *The Angel, who brought me out of all my evils, bless these children, and upon them be invoked my name and the name of my fathers, Abraham and Isaac,* Gen. 48. And there is a formal prayer to that purpose, *Exod. 32.* which expresses as much invocation of saints as any, or all the prayers of the Christian Church do ever use. *Remember, saith Moses, remember O God, Abraham, Isaac and Israel thy servants, unto whom thou hast sworn by thy self, saying I will multiply your seed as the stars of heaven:* Which prayer was after imitated by *Daniel, ch. 3. Withdraw not O Lord thy mercy from us for Abraham thy beloved, Isaac thy servant, and Israel thy holy one.* And if *Daniel* and *Moses* prayed to saints, well may we do it. And if that of theirs was not a praying to saints, but only

to almighty God by the concurrence of their merits, then is the Catholick Church to be not excused only, but commended. For she does the like in those prayers of hers, she makes any mention either of saint or angel, and no otherwis.

And this may serv to expound their meaning, when Catholicks in their Letanies, versicles, and other short ejaculations invoke Saints and Angels directly in words, thus; *Holy Virgin Mary pray for us: Blessed S. Michael pray for us, &c.* which in sense is no other but thus; Let the prayers of Lord of such a one, and of all thy saints and angels avail with thee to my assistance: which very sense the Church expresses in all her prayers throughout the year, and in particular when she speaks thus; *Sancta Maria & omnes Sancti intercedant pro nobis ad Dominum, ut nos mereamur ab eo adjuvari & salvari qui vivit & regnat, &c.* And if we ponder it it right, must needs be so. For when I pray any one to pray for me, considering the object and matter of my desire which both of us must join in, I do not, properly speaking, pray to him but by him; and only desire in my good affection, that the prayers he makes for all, may be available unto me. And this is the more apparent, becaus the Letanies are directed unto God, beginning, continuing, and ending with him. *Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy, Father of heaven God, Have mercy on us, O Son redeemer of the world God, Have mercy on us, &c. Holy Mary pray for us, St. Michael pray for us, &c. Be propitious, spare us O Lord. From all evil, Deliver us, O Lord, &c. By the mystery of thy incarnation, Deliver us O Lord. By thy nativity, Deliver us O Lord, &c. We sinners, Beseech thee to hear us, That thou grant us peace, We beseech thee to hear us, &c. Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, spare us O Lord, &c. Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy. Our Father, &c.* Thus the Letanies run. And he that directs, continues and ends his
letany

letany or prayer to God, must needs pray to him, and objectively to none but him. So that the interposition of any intercessour must needs be indirect in sense, however it be express in words: and can signifie no more but this; that God would graciously accept of the prayers they make, in our behalf. For that they do pray for their brethren and adoptives of the same blis both reason and holy writ sufficiently assure us.

Not is this way of expressing our desires unusual in holy Scripture, nay it is very frequent in it; *Bless ye our Lord all the works of our Lord, bless ye our Lord O angels of God. O sun and moon, bless ye our Lord, O stars of heaven bless ye our Lord, praise ye and magnifie him for ever, &c.* thus pray the three confessours in Daniel. And the whole 148. Psalm runs in the same tenour: *Prais our Lord all ye angels of his, prais him all his powers, prais ye him O sun and moon, prais him all the stars of light, &c.* Here is an invocation direct in words, not only of the saints and angels, but stars and meteors, earth and seas, frost and snow, heat and cold, light and darknes. And yet I am not bound who use that devotion, to make it good that the sun and moon, or other things there invocated, do hear me, when I speak to them in that manner. Sith I do but only express my affection, and desire that sun and moon, heaven and earth, frost and snow, heat and cold, mountains and hills, be in their manner instrumental to the Almightyes prais and honour, whether in words I speak directly to the sun and moon, as I do in that Psalm, or express my self otherwise, saying, *May the sun, moon, heaven and earth concurre with me to the honour and prais of God almighty.* The affection and meaning is still the same. Nay the kings and princes of the earth, whom in that Psalm I invoke to my assistance, do no more hear me, when I say that Psalm in my chamber, than do the mountains and hills. In like manner it is all one for me to say either thus: *May the prayers of the Saints and Angels*

of God assist my condition with the almighty holy one; or thus; *Pray for me O saints and angels of God to assist my poor condition with God almighty and holy*, The devotion is as good this way as the other, and all one and the same thing. And the ancient Christians used indifferently either the one way or the other, according as they deemed either this or that more agreeable and pathetical, to the exciting of their devotion and obtaining their desires with God. Nor did those wise and devout people ever enter into the curiosity; whether the spirits of another world, did either see or hear or know, what we speak or think or do in this; much less did it ever enter into their Creed, that they do so.

After a thousand years arose our Schoolmen; who amongst other of their subtilties raised the difficulty, *Whether Saints in another life hear and see all our motions in this*. And generally they defended, and neatly declared, both that they did it, and also how it might be done; namely by the mirrour of divine essence seen and enjoyed by the blessed. But this is a meer nice theological subtiltie, and no business of faith at all, neither for the mode how it is done, nor yet for the doctrine that it is done. And if those schoolmen thought this their doctrine necessary for any practise of saints invocation in the Church, they showed themselves not so good rhetoricians, as they were logicians. Some may think they did, but I am persuaded they did not. Cannot I sing with Moses; *Audite cæli quæ loquor, audiat terra verba oris mei*; *Hear O heavens what I speak; let the earth hear the words of my mouth*: except philosophie can make it good, that the earth and heavens can properly hear my voice.

He that will defend pure naked faith is not bound to enter upon any philosophical dispute with the adversary, or go any further than his faith reaches. For so he does but intangle religion and expose it to needles doubts. But this is a great mistake of many men, otherwise of very great parts,

parts, that they think what they have heard in the schools of *Thomas*, or *Scotus*, is all of it *de fide*; not considering, that the schoolmen raised a thousand questions; and invented several declarations like rampiers about the *Citadel of faith*, to inable men to speak against all opposition, several wayes; either in the way of *S. Thomas* or *Scotus*, *Gaudavenfis*, *Durandus*, *Aureolus*, or other doctour; not to oblige them to defend those waies as the *Citadel* it self, when it shall com by any adversary to be opposed. And although with som Antichristian great wits, as *Plotin*, *Porphyrius*, *Julian*, such subtilties may be spoke of; yet still with this caution it must be don, that they first understand, that Christians are not bound when they defend the simplicity of their faith, to make good those subtilties besides it. But with a grosser textual opponent, as our protestant is, such curiosities are not at all to be touched. For he concludes presently, that invocation of saints is not to be used, if any one go about to tell him that they hear our prayers, and make it not sink into his head, how they do it. And thus catholick faith is prejudiced, for want of wise comportment in the defendant.

There is another little defect in som late catholick writers, that in their controversies with Protestants, wherein they hold that it is lawfull to pray unto saints, they consider not that they mean it one way, and their adversary another. This should first have been cleared, before they had proceeded to perswade, what could never enter into our Protestant heads, in the sens they understand it. For properly and strictly speaking, to pray saints or by them is one thing, to pray to them is another: that intimates the means, this the final end and object of our prayer. And the Catholick uses it in the first sence, the Protestant understands it in the latter, as I know by my experience and conversation with them in all places. *S. Paul* in his Epistle to the Romans, as elsewhere very frequently, calls the Christians *Sanctus* saints, and in the end of that Epistle

earnestly importunes them, to help him in their prayers for him unto God. And yet will Protestants never be persuaded for all this, that *S. Paul* prayed to saints. And indeed in their sence he did not. But that he did pray to saints in the catholick sence, that is, prayed saints or prayed by saints, no rational man can deny. And such and no other is the devotion of catholicks in this kind: save only, that their practis is more plausible, than that of *S. Paul* now mentioned. If the prayers of such as be *in viâ*, and sinners in som part of their conversation, though saints in profession, be so usefull and may commendably be desired; much more those of consummate saints *in patriâ*, absolute friends of God and partakers of his glory, whom we are taught by holy writ, that they offer up incense and prayers in our behalf. So then, the sacred text assures us that these pray for their brethren: but men in this life, although they be requested, may neglect to do it. Their prayer is surely effectual, one way or other to our good, when men of this life may obtain for us haply nothing at all. Nor is it of any purpos, whether they hear us or no, sith we do but pray them to do for us, what we are assured they do for all; and so apply the benefit of their prayers to our selves; or pray by them not to them, or to them in the catholick, but not in the protestants sence.

I must here by reason of the great ignorance of old catholick customs that is amongst us, give notice, that the great Mother Church does carefully distinguish betwixt her *Oratio* or her set prayer, & her *Preces*, anthems, hymns, versicles, and such like pious ejaculations. For her set prayer is ever made according to the canons directly unto God Almighty. But the other taken for the most part out of scripture phrase, she uses them without more ado, as there she finds them exprest, in what trope or figure soever they be delivered. Take one example for all. In her versicle for Advent she sings thus: *V. Rorate cæli desuper, & nubes pluant i snum. R. Aperiatnr terra & germinet Salvatorem:*

vatores: that is, "Dew ye O heavens, & the clouds rain down the just one: Let the earth open and bud our Saviour. Where in the first comma the words are made directly to the heavens; not so to the earth in the second. But the sence and meaning is the very same. And it had been all one, if it had been expressed thus: *Let the heavens dew, the clouds rain, and earth bud forth a Saviour.* For the heavens and clouds do no more hear me, when I speak to them, than the earth could do. But then the life of the eloquence had been much weakened, and the words of holy writ unnecessarily changed. *Dew O ye heavens*; and, *Let the heavens dew*, is but one and the same thing, with a little alteration of rhetorick. *Let the heavens dew*, is a direct expression of our requests to God; *Dew O heavens*, an indirect, being an emphaticall Apostrophe unto that effect or caus, which I beg of God, even in those very words that it may at length appear. And such is likewise the vehement and earnest ejaculations of catholick Christians whether they say, *Protect me O Angels of God, O saints of heaven pray for me*; or *may all thy saints pray for me, Let thy Angels O God protect me*; begging both waies the same divine assistance by those means he hath ordained for our comfort and relief. And thus the Church speaks indifferently in her anthems, hymns, gradualls, responsories, drawn according to the severall schemes of pious oratory, by way of collaudation, deprecation, admiration, gratulation, &c. And these are frequently both mingled with the devotions, and commended by the writings of old contemplatives and holy fathers. Insonnich that S. Bernard, one of the last of them, although he lived five hundred years ago, counts it no shame, amongst his other learned and pious works, to write a comment upon *Salve Regina*, which is one of the Churches anthems to the blessed virgin *Mary*. And how high other Christian doctours above a thousand years ago, have extolled this kind of piety, both by their prais and practis, it would be here too tedious to relate.

If any one like not this my way of explicating this holy custom of the Church, he may use what other he pleases. But this I do use as most facile and connatural to pious oratory, which easily diverts unbelievers objections, and best answers to the state not only of Christian saints, but also those of the old law, who could not see the necessities of men upon earth by any mirror of divine essence, which then they enjoyed not; and yet they were prayed unto then, as well as the Christian Saints be now. And to me it seems irrational, to defend an easie custom of religion, by a hard subtiltie of philosophy, which clears not but renders that obscure and doubtfull, which was clear and utterly undoubted of before. All antient Christians ever beleev'd saints-invocation to be lawfull and pious: but it entred not into the *Creed* of any, that those of another world either hear or see what we do in this. And this opinion brought to clear the other practis, is harder to beleeve than it; and no point of faith neither; although by the subtiltie of Christian Philosophers it be rendered probable enough, to such as allowed of the Christian custom aforehand.

And if the custom will naturally clear it self, according to the spirit of those who penned our holy scriptur, without the help of a philosophy, which our Protestant countrymen either will not allow, or cannot understand, I see no reason, why any such philosophy should be here made use of, to the prejudice of that faith it is brought only to declare. And yet most of the writers of this last age, when they com to the point of Saints-invocation, are in a manner wholly conversant in that piece of philosophie, the whole busines of faith neglected. First they show for example, *how the old Prophets* discovered the secret actions of men even at a great distance: Then, *how great the activity*, even of our corporal eye is, to see a star in the firmament so many millions of miles off, yea by the help of a Tube or Telescope to discern even a world in the moon; and

and a spirit free from matter must yet be far more perceptive : Lastly, *that God is* an indivisible entity, and consequently by the Saints and Angels, who see his face in glory, must needs be both himself discerned, and also the whole world relucient in that glorious mirror, &c. This is generally all the discours is made of Saints-invocation ; as if their *hearing* and *seeing* were all the whole business of faith to be declared ; whereas indeed it is nothing less. Saints-invocation, and Saints hearing and seeing what I do in my chamber, are as much differing as any two things can be. The first is old Christian religion, the other a new School-philosophie. And although a man may commendably defend even this opinion before subtile philosophers in the schools, as a probable truth, which he may think it to be ; Yet can he not in any prudence maintain it before unbelievers, as a parcel of Christian faith, which he either knows, or ought at least to know that it is not. But of this enough.

This pious rite of saints-invocation common to the Hebrew and Christian Church, is necessarily justified upon the supposal of three principles which all I think will grant. First that Gods grace whereby men are made partakers of the divine nature, is in a singular manner in some persons more than others : secondly, that the souls of those holy people, and merits of their good works are immortal with God, even after their death : thirdly, that God cannot dislike the reflections of his divine nature diffused in them, out of the fulnes of his beloved son, when any one makes use of them the easier to find mercy in his sight. And all Protestant objections, as *Come unto me* saith Christ, &c. are but childish : For who does a man come unto, or go unto, but Christ and God alone, when he sues to none but him for grace and mercy, whether he use or use not the helps of other intercessour with himself, to facilitate his request.

As innocent therfor is Popery in this, as in any other her religious practices ; and we destitute of argument to
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carp at them for it. Let us therfor love and not hate, rather honour than diminish them without caus.

§. 26. *Dirge.*

ALl over the catholick world prayers are constantly made for the dead, both in publick and private. In-
somuch that one day in a week the altar is set apart for that
purpos; and it is a rare thing when one half hour in every
day, is not spent there by some priest or other, together
with the people for that end. Nor is ther a private person
in the world, that makes any orisons apart, but will send
forth som short ejaculations for the *requiem* of souls de-
parted, before he give over. So that I may truly say, it is
as ordinary for Catholicks to pray for the dead, as for the
livings & for one another, as for themselves. This custom car-
ries withit so great a show of piety, that for my part I could
never dislike it; and I have heard but few discreet persons
speak otherwise against it, than only as an ungrounded o-
pinion. For of it self, what can it be but purest humanity
to remember our friends, when they are out of sight; and
to pray for them even after their deceas, a most charitable
piety. The question is, whether the doctrin be well ground-
ed; or whether it may make for good accordingly to use
it. If the deceased be utterly dissolved, and soul and body
equally extinguished, then it is likely my prayer cannot
avail for their benefit; nor will it becom either my charity
or discretion, to pray for them that are not. For God is not
the God of the dead but of the living, as our Lord speaks;
nor is he to be requested for benefits to any thing that is not
existent, and absolutely incapable to receiv them. But if
their souls be still immortal with Góð, where or in what
condition soever they be, it cannot hurt, I should think,
either me or them, to wish them well. For whersoever
they are, if so be they are any thing, they are present to
God, who fills all things, if not more, yet assuredly as
much,

much, as we that live this mortal life, and as they themselves were, when they lived amongst us. And God whom we pray unto, is equally present both to them and us, who assuredly hears and sees and knows us both. And since the Almighty has set a limit to our knowledge, none to our charity towards any man, no reason can be given why I may not wish well unto them all my life time; even after their decease, whom I might pray for while they lived, even by the command of him, who bad me do well unto all, and have love, which is ever accompanied with well wishes and prayers, even to my very enemies; never prescribing me either limit of time, or measure of charity.

Those I pray for after their decease, must needs be, if they be yet subsisting, either in hell or heaven, or some third place; I speak vulgarly, that I may be understood, not heeding at all whether a soul in *Aristotles* philosophy, may be said in rigour to be in any place or no. In right reason whatsoever is, must needs be somewhere, and that is all my meaning. If the soul I pray for, should chance even then to be in heaven; then my prayer for him is answerable to Gods will, and so not evil but good; whiles I beg rest to him, to whom God hath given it. For prayer, though it often supposes, yet it doth not necessarily require a want of the good thing prayed for, in him I wish it unto. Otherwaies I could not say as well and truly *Our father who art in heaven, let thy name be sanctified, thy kingdom come, thy will be done*: as I say afterwards, *Give us to day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts, as even we also do forgive our debtors, &c.* In the former, there is no want to be imagined. For they both are and shall be, whether I pray so or no; and I do but only show my love and charity to God, in wishing him to be, as he is, most holie, powerfull and just; and desiring that to him, which he neither does nor ever can want, all sanctity, power and glory. But in the other requests, a want is presupposed before the petition. If he should be in hell, such it is not
Gods

Gods will I should know so much, I can no more be interpreted to gainsay his pleasur, than when I prayed for the same person upon earth, and wished him what he should never have. For even then also, I knew no more of Gods disfavour towards him, than now I do; and my good wishes in both places, presented ever under a tacite condition of Gods good pleasur, may be equally acceptable in order to any effect either to him or my self, for my charity towards him, as they would have been whiles he lived. For I shall still have the merit of my own charity, in complying with Gods precept of an unlimited love towards all men: and he may receive too as much good by my prayers, now he is com to such an end, as when he was going to it. Especially if he were, according to the doctrine of some Protestants, so destined to ruin by Gods unresistable will, and by the torrent of that unavoidable decree so inevitably hurried to damnation, that all things, even the best and most sacred means, make only for his destruction. Indeed if any ones final ruin should be revealed unto me, as now is, I think, the condition of evil angels, then in praying for any such, I should formally resist Gods will; and therefor I must not do it. But so long as it lies hid, let not me dive into his secrets, but look unto my own duty, which shall never turn to my blame, tho it may hap not to concur with the beneplacite of his hidden purpos. And in both cases, either of the final blis or ruin of him I pray for, such kind of suffrages, though they may prove not to be *adjumenta mortuorum*, yet they are still *consolationes vivorum*, comforts of the living, not helps of the dead, as great Saint *Austin* speaks in the like case.

But lastly, if he be in any third place in expectation of glory, then without controul I may wish him what he is ordered unto, and do any good thing I shall know, by such means as I know all other points and practices of religion, may further his expiation. And such an opinion have all Catholicks or ancient Christians ever had of their fore-

forefathers, who died in the boſom of the Church, that they were as capable of prayers, after their death, as before it; and that heaven was not ſo eaſily attained even by good and holy profeſſours, without ſome antecedent expiation of their venial tranſgreſſions, without which men do ſcarcely depart out of the concretion of theſe earthly tabernacles; inclining ſtill to ſenſual propenſions, let their ſouls endeavour never ſo much by the help of Gods grace and ſacraments to expiate and clear their thoughts, or to raiſe themſelves to the object of eternal purity, whiles they breathed here below. Thus the caſe ſtands concerning this point.

And that every ſoul that paſſes out of the concretion, of a mortal body with any ſenſual contagion, after ſin remitted, paſſes through ſome expiatory pains, commonly called Purgatory, declared by the antients, ſometimes by the notion of darkneſs, ſometimes of ſcorching fires, before he can enter into the place of glory, where no iniquitated thing can com, as it is an opinion can never be demonſtratively either proved or diſproved, no more than other contingencies of Gods will, ſo becauſe it is a thing as conſtantly beleev'd in all ages of Chriſtianity, and as unanimouſly practiſed as any one thing I know, I do not ſee any reaſon it ſhould be ſo ſlightly thought of, or ſeverely condemn'd, as I ſee it is by ſom, as an ungrounded popiſh ſuperſtition. For it is not only the opinion of all orthodox Chriſtians, but of all people in the world, excepting only the diſciples of *Luther*, who jeer at all things, that ther be other places or conditions where ſouls departing this life may have their reſort beſides hell and heaven; as if it were derived even with the ſouls immortality from the firſt inhabitants of the earth unto all their poſteritie. The Pagans all beleev'd it, as appears by *Virgil*, *Cicero*, *Lucretius*, and the few remnants of their religion both under the Roman empire and elſewhere. The Mahometans that roſe a thouſand years ago, and took to a miſcellan religion made out of Pagan, Jew and

and Christian beleef, hold it to this day; and the Hebrews taught and profest it as appears by the ancient Rabbies. As if this opinion of a third place had come down even from *Adam* to all his whole progenie; first to *Cain* and *Seth*, by *Cain* to *Enoch* and his line; by *Seth* to *Enos*, and so down to *Noah*; from him to *Sem*, *Ham* and *Japhet*; by *Sem* to the Assyrians, Aramites, Persians, &c. by *Ham* to the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Palestines, Cananites, Sidonians, Jebusites, &c. by *Japhet* to the Medes, Bactrians, Indians, Babylonians, and isles of the Gentiles, &c. although it be severally mixed and modified, according to the tenour of the various religions that profess it.

This opinion then of the souls immortality, and its detention after death in some place *citra caelum*, or at least in a middle condition between extreme beatitude and misery, is not any new thing, freshly taught either by our blessed Saviour or his Apostles, as any peculiar doctrine of his own, but taken up as granted by tradition of the Church of the Hebrews, and supposed and admitted by all sides for true, upon which our Lord built much of his own instructions. And that may be the reason, that in his parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, which he recounted under the figure of a story then past, he sayes expressly that *Dives* was in hell torments, but he does not likewise say of *Lazarus*, that he was in heaven, but in the bosom of *Abraham*, Luk. 16. For heaven gates, as they were indeed not opened unto any until the passion of the *Messias*, who first entred there as *primogenitus ex mortuis*, the first born from the dead: so neither did the Jews beleev, that any should have access thither before his coming, as I think it may appear, to omit other places, in the Acts of the Apostles. For there *S. Peter* preaching and proving before the Jews, that *Jesus* was risen and ascended into heaven, and was consequently the true *Messias*, he takes his argument, to prove it, out of a psalm of *David*; which speaks thus, *I foresaw the Lord*

always before my face, &c. therfor did my heart rejoyce, &c. because thou wilt not leav my soul in hell, &c. thou hast made known to me the wayes of life, &c. This is his first subsumption, then he goes on in his argument. *David was a Prophet, & foreseeing the resurrection of Christ, he spake those things of him; therfor Christ is risen, and our Jesus is the Christ.* This is *S. Peters* argument. Then he anticipates an objection. For som might say, *David* spake not those words of the *Messias*, but of himself. Unto this *S. Peter* replies with three reasons; first *David was a Prophet*, and therfor he spake them not of himself, but of another whose resurrection he foresaw; secondly, he saith, *The Lord said: unto my Lord sit thou on my right hand, &c.* It was then the resurrection and ascension of one that was *David's* Lord, therfore not of himself; again it could not be meant of *David*, for *David ascended not into heaven*, which is an argument *ad hominem, ex concessis*: as if he had said, you all know and beleev, that neither *David* nor any of the Patriarchs ascended after their death to their final rest, but staid in som interjacent repose, till the *Messias* should come and lead *captivity captive*; that is to say, take along with him in his train and service, all those holy Prophets and Patriarchs of the old law, who had in their place of detention waited for the consolation of Israel. I say *S. Peter* must suppose that proposition, on which the firmitude of his whole discours was chiefly grounded, to be admitted by the Jews for true; otherwise his argument had been inefficacious, and had neither proved Christs ascension, nor yet Jesus to be Christ. And if any should expound the place of a *corporal* ascension which belonged to the *Messias*, and not to *David*; although that meaning be also true, yet does not the exposition fully correspond with the letter of the text, which speaks expressly of his *Soul*. All this inferrs that the Hebrew Church did beleev a detention of spirits *citra calum*, and that the *Rich* man might go to hell before Christ, but *Lazarus* the happy
went

went but into *Abrahams* bosom, that is to say, unto that repose, where *Abraham*, *David*, and all the ancient Patriarchs expected the light and redemption of Israel; and not into heaven it self.

And they might very well so beleev. For how can any one hope for that, upon anothers gift, which he never promised, when he promised all other things but it. Heavenly bliss amongst all the fair promises made in the law of *Moses*, was never so much as mentioned; nor those people ever put in hope of it, for any good work they should do. But in the new testament of our *Messias*, heaven which himself should open to his faithfull, is frequently promised, as an immens motive and incitement to good works, which they should for his love, by the assistance of his grace, act and persevere in, unto the end. Yet so too, as that in the execution of this promise, it is sufficiently insinuated, if that any spirit issue out of his bodie not absolutely purified, himself may indeed, by the use of such means of grace as our Lord instituted, be saved; yet so as by fire, 1 Cor. 3. And therfor our blessed Saviour speaking of the several trespasses we make in this life, gives us this counsel, to set all right and straight, as far as we can, while we are here *in via*, in the way of this life. For if once by death we be delivered up to the place of hold, detention, or prison; ther will be no getting forth thence, till the utmost farthing be paid, *Mat. 5.* that is, as holy fathers do jointly interpret the place, till absolute satisfaction be made either by suffrance or suffrages. And that redemption or remission of som sins may be had after this life, is enough insinuated unto us by himself, when he tells us, that ther be som sins that shall never be forgiven neither in this world, nor in the world to com. For if any should tell me here in England, that som criminal offences will never be pardoned at the *Sessions*, nor at the *Kings bench* at Westminster, he sufficiently insinuates, if he speak properly, that releas may be had for som other offences, in both the places.

S. Paul

S. Paul in his Epistles, although he do sometimes indirectly hint at this doctrine of expiation after this life; yet does he not directly make use of it as a topick place, either in his exhortation to virtue, or dissuasion from vice. But the reason is manifest, for being a thing mixt of good and ill or neither of them in perfection, it could serve sufficiently to neither purpos. Heaven now lately promised to all those that walk piously in Christ Jesus, was a more full and stronger motive of perswasion, as also was hell a greater argument of affrightment, then the interiacent place of expiation, however penal or not penal could be, which by reason of the temporalitie of the suffiance, and hopes of approaching glory, admits som comfort to mitigate the terrour; and again by reason of the penalty of that condition and trouble of expectation, carries enough of terrour to allay the comfort of the place. And yet incidentally and without sign, ther is there to be found as much of purgatorie, as of the liturgie, the trinitie, primitive absolution, and other mysteries of faith. In a word, the thought of heaven served well, both to incourage people to the utmost perfection of charitie, and good works, and to comfort them also in tribulation; which the memory of their expiation before it could not do. And on the other side if any were wicked, for such a one purgatorie would neither be a seasonable nor sufficient menace.

Yet both all their life time, and especially when they came to die, all records of primitive times will tell us, how careful the ancient Christians were, to provide for their souls assistance after death. And accordingly *S. Austin* commends the piety of his mother *Monica*, in that she begged to earnestly of him her son, to be mindfull of her soul, when he stood at the altar, to pray heartily for her, after her deceas. And he sets down at large in the ninth book of his *Confessions*, c. 12, and 13, the dirge, and sacrifice, and prayers, he made both for her and her husband *Patricius*. And the doctrine of expiatorie punishments after this life,

he teaches in several places of his many learned volumes: In his 20th. book *de civitate Dei*, c. 9. 13. 16. and 24. In his *comment* upon the 37. Psalm: In his book of *fifty homilies* hom. 16. In his 41. sermon *de sanctis*. In the 110. chapter of his *Enchiridion*: In his book *de cura pro mortuis*, c. 2. and 4. By which and other places we may see, that S. *Austin* was not only of this catholick opinion, but he was also a priest himself, who both taught and practised it, sacrificing at the altar for souls departed. And so was S.S. *Bede*, German, *Constantinopolitanus*, *Jo. Damascen* and *Alcuin* in the eighth age of the Church; not to mention later times. S.S. *Isidore*, *Eligius*, and the fathers of the eleventh council of *Toledo* in the seventh age. S.S. *John Climacus*, *Gregory the great*, and the Fathers of the council of *Valentia* in the sixth. S.S. *Jo. Chrysostom* with the above named S. *Austin*, *Paulinus*, *Encherius Lugdunensis*, *Victor Uticensis*, *Socrates*, and *Theodoret* in the fifth. S.S. *Eusebius Casariensis*, *Athanasius*, *Basilius Magnus*, *Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus*, *Gregorius Nazianzen*, and *Nyssen*, *Epiphanius*, *Ambrosius*, and *Hieronimus* in the fourth. S.S. *Eusebius Alexandrinus*, *Zeno Veronensis*, and *Origen* in the third. S. *Irenaeus*, *Hermes*, and *Tertullian* in the second; who were all of them priests, catholick Roman priests, and publickly taught, as I am able to make it apparent out of their works, this venerable religious doctrine of the souls expiation after death, before it arrive to heavenly bliss, by the prayers and penances and alms deeds of the faithfull left behind them in this world. And they did it, and practised it themselves in their houses, altars, and oratories: according as they had received it from the first age, which they found in an universal beleef and practise of the same truth, as even yet appears by the ancient liturgies and testimonies of S. *Matthew*, S. *Mark*, S. *James the elder* and the younger, S. *Clement*, and S. *Dionysius the Areopagite*; wherein most earnest prayer is ever made for such persons as were deceased in

in the communion of the Church, which they phrased in those dayes *obdormire in domino*, either in or before their times.

But the practis of *S. Paul* in order to this sort of piety, is singularly remarkable. He in his second letter to his ghosly child *S. Timothy*, whch he wrote to him from *Rome*, as he makes honourable mention of the charitie of good *Onesiphorus* towards himself, both in that city, and also at *Ephesus*, whence he had com with much labour and long journeyes, to reliev his old poor guest *S. Paul*, there kept in prison by emperour *Nero*, and had died in that his charitable work; so also doth he manifestly pray for his soul in that letter; *Det illi Dominus*, saith he, *invenire misericordiam à Domino in illà die*; which is in plain english, *God have mercy of his soul*. Both there and in the end of his letter, he salutes the hous and family of *Onesiphorus*, but not himself; becaus he was departed this life; whom otherwis he had as well mentioned in person, as he did *Priscilla* and *Aquila*, whom with the hous of *Onesiphorus* he there salutes. But yet having honourably mentioned his good deeds towards himself, he praises for his soul, which was the utmost he was now able to do for his person, and begs Gods blessing upon his hous and familie he had left behind him. "Our Lord show compassion, saith
 " he, upon the hous of *Onesiphorus*, for he often refreshed
 " me, and was not ashamed of my chain: but when he
 " were come to *Rome*, he sought and found me out. LORD
 " grant him to find mercie from our Lord in that day. And
 " how he administred to me in *Ephesus*, you know your
 " self better than I can tell you. Whence we may learn, that
 old primitive Christianity used, first to speak well of the
 dead, and recount their charitable deeds for ensample of the
 living; and then secondly to pray for their souls; even as
 Roman Catholicks do at this day. And I am confident, if
 any one here in England, should say as much for any de-
 ceased friend or benefactour, as good *S. Paul* there does.

for his, he would be looked upon as a superstitious Papist. And I am no less certain, that either *S. Paul* was of the Papists religion, or the Papist at least of his.

Thus *Popery* did in old times and so it doth still. And I hope none of us hereafter will have the heart to hate and persecute that religion, whose charitie and goodnes is so great, that it extends beyond the very horizon and utmost limits of this world.

§. 27. *Pope.*

THe Catholicks, as I perceived by their books and practises, do all the world over pray for their *Pope* and pastour with a most tender affection; which I esteemed a piece of most civil piety practised in all ages for the comfort and good of him, they look upon as supreme overseer and governour of their religion, under *Christ*, upon earth. We may perceiv in the epistles of good *S. Paul*, that to pray for one another was a thing very familiar to the primitive Christians. But when *S. Peter* their prince and head fell into danger, the whole Church then united their supplications in his behalf, as one in whose welfar they were universally and in a more peculiar manner all of them concerned. *Peter was kept in prison*, saith the sacred text in the Acts, and prayer was made without intermission by the Church unto God for him. I doubt not but that they prayed likewise for other apostles too, that God would keep and bring them out of danger. But the writer of that story gives us no notice of any universal prayer made for any one, but only for *Him*, the head and prince of all the whole congregation; thereby to intimate the singular respect and love they did universally bear him.

But we in England do not more ordinarily call a *Spade* a *Spade*, than we do traduce, defame, execrate the Pope; and proclaim him, whom also we do not know, lewd, wicked, sensual, proud, seducer, serpent, Antichrist, and I know

not what. And this, not only in our ordinary societie but in books and sermons; not only som of us, but all hate him; not in England only, but all protestant places; not now only, but in all times since Protestancy begin: And our very children, by that time they com to be eight or nine year old, are by our example and imitation inabled to say after us, like parrots, *Pope is a rogue, pope is a rogue.* This behaviour of ours, if it be not impious, yet no man I should think will after serious consideration deny it to be unmannely. And what kind of spirit must this be, that delights so much in defamations and curses. Surely the spirit of God is a meeke, civil and quiet spirit. Either the *Pope* is good, or evil; if he be good why do we hate him; if bad, why do we not pray for him, as gospel teaches us to do, even for our enemies and sinners, but still defame and curs him, to make him worse. I know much good he has don our land, even so much good, as the Christianity we had from him, hath ever wrought amongst us; but never any evil, no not in the lesst kind. Ministers above all others stand excessively ingaged to him, even for the very bread they eat; for the formality of their clothes and cassocks they wear; for the pulpits they preach in; for the parishes and tithes they liv upon; for the universities they were brought up in; for the degrees they have taken there, and the canon of their ordination; for the catholick learned books they studie; and the very gospel they either do or seem to preach: all which were originally from the Pope. And as for others of the laity; if the Churches they meet in once a week, and the hopes they have of a life to com; if the good wholsom laws of the land, if corporations or other orderly dispositions in the kingdom; if the antient *militia* now almost abolished (wherin earls and marquesses commanded the counties, dukes over them, and the King over the dukes; that in a moment all the land might be up at his Majties beck; and the like *militia* by sea, where the admira's were all subjected to the king, be-

sides the train bands for defence of cities) so orderly and wisely instituted; if the orderly sittings and proceedings in Parliament; if dignities and titles of honour; if the decencie of gowns and caps and modes and rules of government in colledges, halls and Innes of law; if our very fashion of preaching and administering sacraments; if all these and several such like things ordered and constituted amongst us be of any worth, or commendable, or may deserve any thanks, we must then be civil towards the Pope and his catholick believers, who invented, disposed and ordered all these things for our good. And yet we are so far from thinking of any of these things, which might civilise us towards him; that transported, we cannot our selves tell how, with animosity and passion, we inveigh endlessly not only against *Papists*, but even against the *Pope* himself, who as he never hurt us, so likewise doth he even to this day wish us all both temporal and spiritual good with an unfeigned heart.

And I should think, we might hereupon take occasion to admire at the Popes great civility and temperance, not again to be paralel'd in the world, who though he hath seen so many hundred virulent books writ against him, and heard more words; yet hath he never been known to let fall the least word of passion against any, nor move any engine for revenge. And thus much several of our countymen have experienced of late years in Rome, where railing at the Pope even under his nose, as a wicked proud Antichrist, they received being called before him no other check but this, *My friends be peaceable, while you are in my territories, lest the people should fall upon you and hurt you; when you are out of my territories say of me what you pleas.* I have seldom known any noble person, but if his honour were traduced, especially if falsely, undeservedly, & by an inferiour person, and frequently, & in a high degree; but he would move more or less to a just reveng of his right. Only the *Pope* goes quietly on in his cours, as the

the full moon in the firmament, which heeds not at all the barkings of so many curreys, that vainly open their mouths against her. But in the interim can there be any thing more unseemly than a young Minister in a pulpit here in England, vapouring and talking before a congregation, that com thither to hear Gods word, against a gentleman, a grave venerable person, a Bishop, a Prince, who also living a thousand miles off hears not a word he saies, and if he did would heed it as little. We read a story, in the book of Kings, of a company of boies that mockt at *Eliseus* a grave and venerable person, as he was going to *Bethel*, crying; *Up Baldpate, up Baldpate*; and the very Bears issuing sodainly out of the woods tore them in sunder. May not we justly fear som such like event, for the like if not greater crime of ours, shall fall upon us, who do not only call that venerable person and his priests *Baldpate*, but Antichrist, Frog, Caterpillar, Serpent, &c. Besides the absence of the person we calumnyate, flout and expose to derision, is a circumstance that does not a little aggravate the fact, and renders it no less foolish and irrational, than 'tis unjust and rude. It is a wonder that our Protestant Bishops should countenance these disorders. A wise woman will not hear her child call her neighbour *Whore*, without the application of a just rebuke, knowing that such like impudence being countenanced, may imbolden him at last to call *Her* so too. Indeed the judgment is already com home to our doors. For now our Bishops of England, are as contumeliously treated in the pulpits by their own ministers, as the Bishop of Rome was by their connivance and applaus, abused aforetime in the same place by the self-same persons. Nor have ther been any in this land, more furiously bent these last twenty years against our good *King*, than they who to flatter our former Princes most passionately reviled the *Pope*: and the seed of those men who in the daies of *Edward* the sixth, *Queen Elizabeth*, and *King James* plotted so vehemently against the Ca-

tholick Church and nobility, even to their utter disgrace and ruin, under a pretens of establishing our state, were now the only fighting sticklers against our State and Monarchie. I give only this note by the way, to teach all men to do to another as they would others do to them, and no otherwaies. For God is just and punishes all iniquities of men, oftentimes with those very rods and scorpions, which themselves use before to plague their innocent neighbours, who when they knew the justice of God, yet would they not understand, that they which do such things are worthy of death; and not only they who do them, but they also, who consent and yield compliance to the doers.

But that I may a little lay open to my countrey-men, the unreasonableness of our proceedings, in hating and reviling a person, whom Catholicks on the contrary do so much esteem and love; to what I have already said let thus much be added, That the *Pope* is one, whose whole life and studie is to defend innocence, promote concord, and maintain unity of Faith in the world. Nor is there any man but he alone, that looks to the general safetie of all Christianitie. And in all times like a faithfull patrou he hath so don it, as if it were not so much his office to do it, as his nature. And this we might easily see, if we would look over ancient stories, and not suffer our selves to be misled by the reports of those who think themselves undone, if he that would curb their extravagancies, should come to be thought of, according to his true deserts. I might make it good in many particulars; but I will content my self, only to run over briefly the eighteen general councils, that have been in several ages in the Christian world, and their results and motives; whereby men may be perswaded to think, that the *Pope* is so far, from what we in England are made to conceive of him, that he is the only man that hath fought in all times for the unity of faith, for concord and the good of all Christendom; when other Bishops and beleevers under him, began many of

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them to revolt and disturb our welfar. Nor had we had any thing left us at this day, either of truth or unity, humanly speaking, had not he been set over us, and watched to make and keep us happy, even against som of our wills.

1. *Arrius* a Priest in *Alexandria* had seduced many Priests, Deacons, Nuns, Bishops, and Princes to beleev amiss against the divinitie of *Jesus Christ* our Lord, when Pape *Sylvester* rose up against him and fought stoutly, for the honour of our great *Messias* in his general council at *Nice*, in the year 325. And so did other Popes his successors after him, for som hundred years together.

2. Pape *Damasus*, in the second general council at *Constantinople*, with the like spirit of fortitude, maintained as valiantly the divinitie of the Holy Ghost, against *Macedonius* Priest and Bishop of *Constantinople*, and *Eunomius* that insolent Cappadocian, and all their retinue; as also he did likewise the divinitie of Christ. an. 381.

3. When *Nestorius* a Bishop, with his priest *Anastasius*, gave great scandals in *Constantinople*, by denying the Virgin *Mary* to be mother of God; for that in Christ, they said, were two persons, and one of them was the son of the Virgin, the other son of God, Pape *Celestin* stood up and quelled them, and all their adherents in his council at *Ephesus* in the year 430.

4 Pape *Leo* in a fourth general council at *Chalcedon* an. 450. stopped the mouths of *Eutyches* an Abbot in *Constantinople*, and *Dioscorus* Deacon in *Alexandria*; who, by their great dislike of *Nestorius* opinion, ran into the other extrem, and affirmed Christ our Lord to have not only one person, but one nature too; which was as scandalous & as much against the faith of beleevers, as was the former.

5. In the fifth general council at *Constantinople*, an. 553. when all the oriental part of the Church was in a combustion about the three heads or contents of *Theodore* Bishop of *Mopsuesten*, an epistle of *Ibas*, and *Theodoret* Bishop of *Cyrrus* his writings against S. *Cyril*, who had been

been all three honourably mentioned in the council of *Chalcedon*, and yet their writings were then found very scandalous and faulty; Pape *Vigilius* though very sick and weak, yet by his writings from his chamber, he laboured abundantly and to good effect, to assuage the feud.

3 6. Pape *Agatho* in the sixth general synod at *Constantinople* an. 680. when *Cyrus*, *Sergius*, *Macarius*, and many other learned unquiet priests and bishops monothelites, had spread the *Eutychian* heresie under other notions, and taught that Christ had but one will and operation, with much offence to the people; he rose up and manfully resisted and subdued them.

7. Pape *Adrian* combated no less for the use of images and crucifix against *Gregorius Neocasariensis*, Paul patriarch of *Constantinople*, and several other *Iconoclasts*, who tore and preached them down, contrary to the judgment and practise both of the Christians then living, and all their predecessors, in the seventh general council at *Nice* an. 787. And in one and the same place was maintained, by the whole catholick world, both the images and divinitie of the crucified Messias.

4 8. Not long after in the eight general council at *Constantinople* an. 869 Pape *Adrian* the second defended the innocence of the great patriarch *Ignatius*, whom subtle *Photius* by the help of some potentates in *Constantinople* had expelled his bishoprick, and put himself in the place, miserably harassing and vexing both the good prelate *Ignace* and all his adherents, to the great disturbance of the East, who were all in hot feud about it.

1 9. In the ninth general council at *Lateran* an. 1122 when after infinitie of troubles the Church had recovered her peace, Pape *Callixtus* the second, like a good vigilant pastour, laboured to restore the antient disciplin much abated by wars and factions; recovered the ecclesiastick investitures out of the hands of emperor *Henricus*, who had invaded them; and moved Christian princes to a

war in the holy land, for the caus of *Iesus* Christ there blasphemed, where he should principally be honoured; and the assistance of distressed Christianitie against the Turk: good works all, and which none but he, would have heeded to effect.

10. Pape *Innocent* the second, when *Peter de Lions* his antipope had filled Christendom with wars and factions; and *Peter de Bruis* had no less corrupted their judgments with heresies, against baptism, temples, almes deeds, and offerings; rose up and manfully fought them both, for the recovery of truth and peace of Christianitie; in his tenth oeconomicall council at *Lateran* an. 1139. 2

11. Some while after, in the time of Pape *Alexander* the third, the Christian world was no less rent asunder both by the faction of a competitor of his called *Victor* the second, and the heresies of the *Waldenses* or *Albigenses*: against both which the said Pape called his eleventh council at *Lateran* an. 1179 and made provision there most carefully against any the like disturbance upon such occasion. 3

12. Pape *Innocent* the third, did the world no less good service in his twelfth general council at *Lateran* an. 1215, where he judged and condemned the heresies of those times which infected and troubled the world, censured abbot *Joachim* his book against *Magister sententiarum*, and wicked *Almaricus* who denied the real presence and resurrection, &c. and exhorted all Christian princes to the recovery of the holy land, which had been regained by the joint endeavours of the Christian world in Pape *Urban* the seconds time, *Godfrey of Bullen* being there made King of Jerusalem; but after 90 years was lost again in the daies of Pape *Urban* the third, whose successour *Gregory* the eight and his followers till this *Innocent* the third did much lament and labour to help the loss; but *Innocent* had more hopes by reason that *Baldwin* earl of Flanders was then made emperor of *Constantinople*. 4

13. Pape *Innocent* the fourth found a great deal of trouble in the world, and to heal the malady he called a general Synod at *Lions*, an. 1245. which was the thirteenth oecumenical council against the cruelties of Emperour *Frederick* who filled Christendom with wars and bloodshed, whence arose the faction of the *Gwelfs* and *Gibellines*; against the tyrannie of the Saracens; the perfidiousnes of the Greeks who plotted at *Constantinople* the destruction of all the Latines; and against the irruption of the Tartarians who ruined Poland and Hungary.

14. A little afterwards, when now *Michael Paleologus* had got the Empire of Greece by the expulsion of *Baldwin*, and the Greeks began to fall back to som of their former errors, denying the Holy Ghosts procession, sacrifice in unleavened bread, and som fasts: so that much combustion happened upon this occasion in the oriental Church, Pape *Gregory* the tenth called the fourteenth council at *Lions*, an. 1274. for the healing these disorders, recovery of the holy land, and union of the Greeks.

15. In the year 1311. when the Knights *Templers* began to give som offence in the Christian world, or at least the King of *France* and other Princes pretended so, and the *Bogards* and *Beguines* a kind of religious people in *Germany* sowed som errors up and down, to the great scandal of people; Pape *Clement* the fifth called a council at *Vienna* to rectifie both, as also for recovery of the holy land, and reformation of discipline then much decayed in the Church.

16. But still there was much division in the oriental part of the Church among the Greeks, who denied many of them the procession of the Holy Ghost from the second person of the Trinity, the felicity of the blessed, and purgatory in the Churches antient sens, and the primacy of the Roman See, which although they held in the primitive times for many ages together, yet they sank into that dangerous error by degrees. For after that they had got an
Emperour

Emperour in *Constantinople* absolute and independent, they motioned in councils kept in those times for the most part in the oriental parts, first that the Bishop of that See for the honour of the Empire might be made a Patriarch, then afterwards, that he might have place before other ancient Patriarchs who had the right of precedency before him, and then at the last they would have him independent, as the Emperour himself was in temporals. Thus by degrees did they run themselves into schisms. To prevent these errors and factions Pape *Eugenius* the fourth called the sixteenth general council at *Florence*, an. 1439. where by means of *Josephus* Patriarch of *Constantinople* and other grave Grecian prelates there assembled, the union betwixt the Greeks and Latins was made up.

17. In the year 1512. was kept the seventeenth council at *Lateran* under Pape *Julius* the second and *Leo* the tenth, to mitigate a great schisme raised by means of an episcopal conversion at *Pisa* called together by cardinal *Caravai* and *Sanseverin* without the Papes authority, both which came in here and submitted; as also to bring Christian Princes to mutual concord; to stop the frequent argumentations that were too vehemently urged in schools out of *Aristotle* against the souls immortality; and to hasten an expedition against the Turk.

18. And lastly three Popes one after another, *Paulus*, *Julius*, and *Pius* fought successively with equal resolution against *Luther* and *Calvin*, and several others of their apostate priests; for internal justification, the possibility and merit of doing well, the truth and efficacy of the seven sacraments, prayers for the dead, intercession of saints, and indulgences, in the great œcumenical council of *Trent*.

There have been in the Church besides these greater councils six hundred other national, provincial, diocesan Synods, over and above those which *S. Peter* kept with the Apostles in *Jerusalem*; which being called together upon several occurrences were all licensed guided and directed

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cted by the *Popes* of those times, who kept continual correspondence with the prelates while they sate in council. And if any synod either opposed him, or swarved from his directions, it was looked upon by the rest of Christendom as reprobate on that account.

I should be too tedious, if I should declare the indefatigable industrie, high wisdom and pietie of *Popes*, in steering the Ship of the Church, both in the calms of peace, that she might not then lie hulling and idle, but make good progress towards bliss; and also in the strang storms and tempests, that the malignitie of this world have raised against her, which have been so great and various, that one would have thought by the many leaks that sprang in her at times, the excessive beatings of decuman billows upon her sides, the dangerous hidden rocks on which she has dasht unawares, and the greater apparent ones she has been carried upon, by the violence of wind and weather, not humanly to be avoided, that she could never have lasted to this day. But thanks be to *Him*, that provided a wise and vigilant Pilot, with whom he sits himself invisibly at the stern to guide him and such a voiage in the same ship with him, unto all truth, even to the consummation of the world.

Histories will tell us how careful and more then humanly happie *Popes* have been in all ages, in reconciling Christian Princes, and resolving difficulties between them, that they might either desist from wars, or not fall into them; how laborious in going and sending to and fro for that end, in hearing, agitating their affairs, propounding, supplicating their condescension to what appeared just, so far as either his reason, sacred autoritie of his place or most earnest prayers could prevail: of all which, how solicitously it hath been performed even in our time, our very gazets and news books have given us sufficient notice, in the great vigilance and indefatigable endeavours for that end, of the three last *Popes*, *Urban*, *Innocent*, and *Alexander*.

And no less care and industrie of theirs hath ever appeared in

in examining of doctrines, in counselling and perswading high spirited children, ready to fly out into heresies, to humilitie and resignation, in governing both the divers and great Universities of Christendom, full of great wits and high spirits, and the many bodies of Religious, which be all subjected under him as other parts of the Church be, and are so numerous, that one would hardly beleev ther should be so many religious houses in the Christian world, all serving God night and day with that silence, order and cleanness, every one in his way and institute, that it is the goodliest thing in the world to behold. *St. Bennet* rose in the sixth age of the Church about the year 529. and yet about the year 1480. it is written that there were then of his order fifteen thousand monasteries in the world. And the other families of *S. Francis*, *S. Augustine*, *S. Dominick*, the *Society* and others, are none of them much less numerous. And all these families have still recours to the Pope both for their rule and statutes, and for all difficulties that may occurre in their spiritual government. Lastly in solving the cases, and salving the many sad occurrences, that are and have been continually brought unto him, from the Prelats, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs of several parts of Christendom, about heresies, schismes, misdemeanours, hazzards, and persecutions, either imminent or incumbent. And who can be sufficient for all these things? None surely, but he that is singularly assisted from heaven.

And Christ our Lord, in my judgment, hath no less shown his divinitie and power in the Pope and Church, than in himself; as much in his spiritual and mystick, as he did in his natural bodie. And the life indeed which by his Spirit he livs in his Church, is in a manner the very same with his natural one; now praying, now disputing amongst the doctours, now fasting, then watching, then healing the sick, and working miracles; then persecuted, maligned, envied; sometimes at a feast, sometimes hungrying, sometimes making merry with a loaf of bread and few fishes,

fishes, the disciples now defending their maister, now the maister defending his disciples, &c. For so the Pope protects innocent beleev's, and these again defend him, to their power. But of all those glorious things our Lord did in his life time, conversion of people, confutation of pharisaical opposers, relieving of poor, healing of diseases and the like, he hath shown greater abundance in his Church than in himself, according as himself promised; *Ye shall do greater things than these.* Which confutes the ancient calumny of our old adversary the J.w, who ascribed all our Lord's miraculous operations, either to some gipsie tricks he learnt when he was in Egypt, or to some evil spirit he had got to attend his person: either of which, had it been true, had failed with his person, and his power had not extended to his Church. And all things considered I think I may truly say that Christ in the Pope and Church appears more miraculous than in his own person. And I doubt not but the nativity of his Church, and miraculous conversation, passion, resurrection and ascension shall be the same with his. So that he who contemns the Pope contemns Christ who presides in him; and he that contemns the Church villifies his spirit which lives and moves and animates that body.

I could be very copious in this subject; but I must not be prolix in any thing. I only desire my reader to consider this one thing, which after serious thought he will find to be true; that, if there had not been Popes in all ages both to conserve and propagate faith, we had either never heard any news of Christianity here in England, or not kept it undisturbedly so long. All the whole Gospel and body of Christianity is his, and from him we received it. Nay the first great fundamental of Christian religion, which is the truth and divinity of Christ, had it not been for him, had failed long ago in the world. And what then had become of all the rest. For after Pope *Sy'vester*, according to the faith of his ancestors, had by means of his three Legates,
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great *Ofus* bishop of Corduba, *White* and *Vintenc* two priests, established in the first council of *Nice* the said divinity of Christ our Lord, wherein he is consubstantial to that almighty one, who made this earth and stars; against *Arrius* and his allies, who began to teach the contrary, it is incredible in to say what frequent consultations resorts and conciliar meetings were made ~~afterward~~ up and down the world, by the priests and bishops who had drunk in the contrary opinion, and in that point deserted him, against their *Pope* and pastour for three or four hundred years together, till in a manner all the whole Church, not only clergy but laity, and the princes of Christendom opposed him in it, while the *Pope* now left in a manner alone, or with a very thin retinue of believers, and all his successors one after another, fought even to sweat and blood, for the vindication of that great Christian article, even against the whole world. And he so far overcame at length, that there be scarcely in these dayes any that doubt of that, which the *Pope*, only by the authority of his place and title, wrought out of the very fire. Whence I may truly say that *Christ* is the *Supreme* God. For if the *Pope* had not been, or had not been so vigilant and resolute a pastour as he is, *Christ*, whom the *Pope* both worships himself and proposes to the world to worship, as the very God that made all things, had not been taken now, for any such person, as he is believed this day. And let men talk what they will by their vain philosophy, this I will boldly say and am assured of, that if the *Pope* be not an unerring guide in affairs of religion under God, that way I mean I have shown him to receive and exercise his guidance, all is lost. A man once rid of Church controul, may as easily deride, and as solidly confute the incarnation, as the sprinkling of holy water; nor could the reason of any private man on earth be able to convince him.

And after all this shall children and boyes jeer and revile in our streets and people this Sacred majesty of the

Pope, whom the vertue, wit, valour and nobility of all Christendom hath ever so highly honoured? Shall we cast unjust and vile contumelies upon him, who holding a solicitude for all the Churches of Christ, has so many millions of the greatest spirits in the world depending upon his lips for direction and truth; with whom and under whom, have conquered in his general councils so many thousands of renowned prelates, venerable bishops, princely cardinals, grave patriarchs, subtile divines and doctours, Abbots and Generals of orders, oratours, chancellours, knights and barons sent to his assistance by the Kings and Potentates of Christendom, the very stars of our earthly hemisphere, met together either to make up or grace and strengthen his great council convened in subordination to his legates. Nay emperours themselves have thought it an addition of honour, to sit in that solemn and thrice venerable assembly, though in a separated place. Shall we I say, mock and revile this sacred person? Let not such a thing be said of us any more. Let it not be told in *Gash*, or the streets of *Ashalon*, that we use any such rude behaviour; lest the the very uncircumcised Philistins condemn our vast inexcusable incivility.

Nor yet let us either envy or malign the respect which Pappists give to Him, from whom they received their Christianitie, and by whose vigilance and care it hath been kept inviolate amongst them, from its first ingres into the land even to this very day. Shall our eye be therfor evil; becaus theirs is good.

§. 28. Popery.

IN the more flourishing doctrins of Popery I could be largely copious: but I have said as much as may suffice my intended purpos, which was so far to excuse, only to excuse even that religion also; that if all do not embrace, yet none may persecute and hate it. Wherefor I do purposely

purposely omit to speak of other more plausible parts of Catholick religion; either those which our Protestant takes from them and allows of, or those which he rejects: of this second sort are 1. The obligation which all who beleeve in Christ have to attend unto good works, and the merit and benefit of so doing. 2. The possibility of keeping Gods commandements with the assistance of divine grace. 3. The libertie and freedom of human will either to comply with grace or resist it. 4. The sacred counsel and excellencie of divine vowes. 5. The right and obligation to restitution when any one shall have wronged his neighbour, either in his soul or bodie, fame, goods or estate. 6. The power and autoritie of the Church in her tradition and decisions. 7. The fasts and abstinence at certain times from some kind of meats, which is all the religion we read Adam was enjoyned to observe in Paradise, that we may thereby be more apt to acknowledg Gods gifts and goodnes at those times we enjoy other good things of his bounty and at other times them, and to sanctifie our spirit for divine retirements. 8. The coelibate and single life of the clergie, who thereby freed from much solicitude of this world, though not without some troublesom struggling against unseemly lusts of youth, may approach the altar like angels of God who neither marrie nor are given in marriage. 9. Finally, to name no more, the ecclesiastick hierarchie and supremacie, wherby Catholick religion like a flourishing fair tree, spreads his boughs in several kingdoms of the earth even from sea to sea, so united all of it in all its parts and connexed together, that there is no catholick upon earth but is under some priest, all priests subordinated to their bishops, these to their metropolitan, all metropolitans to the Patriarchs, and Patriarchs united in the Papal cone: every leaf cleaves to some twig, every twig to some branch, every branch to some bough, every bough to the bole, & the bole to the root. And several other such like points of the Roman religion, which coming all

together from one hand have stood unchangeable in all ages the same, and depending all upon the verity of the first revealer have an equality of truth, though not of weight.

These and several others, with the other half score more of offensive doctrines I have cleared and explicated, our first Reformers cut off at one blow; when they taught us that it would suffice to salvation only to beleeve in Christ, without any more ado: and that other things were popish superstitions: whereby we became a strang kind of servants that beleeve their master, but heed not either to fulfill his orders, or do his commands. For they told us and we have hitherto beleeved it: That ther be no such things as good works pleasing to God; but all be filthly, odious and damnable in the sight of heaven: That if it were otherwis, yet are they not in our power: That with the assistance of any grace to be had Gods commandements are impossible to be kept, & it would be therfor vain to attempt: itspecially sith we have in us no strength of free will to act any thing but evil: That it must needs be foolishnes to vow unto God, sith we can do nothing we ought to do; and no less foolish if we have vowed to pay it: That what wrong soever we do to another, God is mercifull and restitution fruitles, both becaus one sin cannot make satisfaction for another, nor any thing clear us but the blood of Christ alone, unto which if we should concurre our selves by doing good works or satisfying for ill, we should be half our own redeemers: That the Church which presumes to teach other things than we allow, is a fals mistress, distracted & knows not what she says: That to fast from sin is fast enough, without depriving our stomachs of good flesh when we have a mind to it; and yet becaus we sin in every thing we do, neither is that fast possible to be kept: That our clergy find themselves men and not angels, and love women as well as others, and still revolved from popery principally for their sakes, preferring a good wife before the whore of Babylon: The altars that kept them asunder are thrown down, the
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honest pulpit standing now solitary speaks for them, and brings them happily together: That papal supremacy is the only obstacle to our liberty, and therfor it must be abolished: And let popery hang together as close as it can, it shall go hard but we will find a battery to shake it.

So much indeed hath sophistry and continual clamour against *popery*, and state punishments lying ever most heavily upon the professors of it, prevailed over our judgments, that now there is no goodness no worth, no truth in it, no none at all: It is all nought, all and every part of it naught, nothing but naughtiness, superstition and vanity, And all that I will say for the present is this: If *popery* be a bad religion more is the pitty; for the professors of it suffer as much for it, as might well serve for a good one. Millions of people for the belief they have in it, and the love they bear its holy councils and promises of future reward, do voluntarily and of their own accord forsake the world and all worldly pleasures to serv God night and day in poverty, humility, and chastity: and multitudes of others of a secular condition in several parts of the earth have rather chosen to live an afflicted life in this world, condemned, abused, pillaged, beaten, put to death by their persecutours, than to forsake that religion; and these too as noble and wise persons many of them as any the earth hath had.

But if any will yet be contentious, and maintain his hatred still against *Popery*, I earnestly request he would seriously ponder these few following *Queries* which I borrowed of a friend.

It will not be deny'd but that the Church of Rome was once a most pure, excellent, flourishing, and Mother Church; for this is not only by good S. Paul amply testified in his Epistle to the said Romans, but acknowledged also by Whitaker in his answer to Dr. Sanders, by White in his defence of his way, by Falk and Reynolds; and also by K. James in his speech to the Parliament.

This Church could not cease to be such, but she must fall either by Apostasie, Heresie, or Schism.

I. *Apostasie is not only a renouncing of the Faith of Christ, but the very name and title to Christianity: no man will say, that the Church of Rome had ever such a fall, or fell thus.*

II. *Heresie is an adhesion to some private and singular opinion, or error in Faith, contrary to the general approved Doctrin of the Church.*

If the Church of Rome did ever adhere to any singular or new opinion disagreeable to the common received Doctrin of the Christian world, I pray satisfie me as to these particulars, viz.

1. *By what General Council was she ever condemned?*
2. *Which of the Fathers ever writ against her? Or,*
3. *By what authority was she otherwise reprov'd? For, It seems to me to be a thing very incongruous, that so great a Church should be condemned by every one that hath a mind to condemn her.*

III. *Schism is a departure or division from the Unity of the Church, whereby the Band and communion held with some former Church, is broken and dissolved.*

If ever the Church of Rome divided her self by Schism from any other body of faithfull Christians, or break communion, or went forth from the Society of any Elder Church: I pray satisfie me as to these particulars.

1. *Whose company did She leave?*
2. *From what body did she go forth?*
3. *Where was the true Church which she forsook?*

For it appears somewhat strange to me, that a Church should be accounted schismatical, when ther cannot be assigned any other Church different from her, which from age to age, since Christ his time hath continued visible, from whence She departed.

If these Queries were well pondered; or if men would once beleeve, as most true it is, that by irrefragable principles

ples which all must needs acknowledg who will own a Christianity in general, *Papery* may be proved to be as good a religion as the best; then *Falsa est Lux*. But this is a little beyond my intencion, which aims no further than only to put our passions to a demur; for which it may suffice us to think that *Papery* is not ill. And if I should yet say more & endeavour to prove it good, those that be of that Way will say I speak too little; and they who be not, will think I say too much. We in England are ever violently bent upon that we set upon, and will not indure to be taken off from our prejudice: although *cum pace*, and with the favour of my good and dearest countrey, this is but a weakness of judgment, rather than any commendable manhood. But yet if any should chance to be further desirous to see the positive articles and grounds of that Religion, he may enquire after their books, wherof the world is full in all languages. And if that cours like him not, three of our own most eminent Protestant divines have of late done enough to our hands; *Dr. Bailly* in his *End to Controversies*, *Dr. Vane* in his *Lost sheep returned*, and *Dean Cressy* in his *Exomologesis*; of all whom by reason of their great learning, exquisite inquiry after truth, the many inconveniences they incurred in this world by at length professing a verity, which they could in conscience no longer smother, their education here amongst us and unity of countrey, we may haply have a better conceit, and less suspicion, than of any other. *Dr. Bailly* does so solidly set down the irrefragable foundations of that antient Christianity, that none I think can suspect it either new or ill. *Dr. Vane* to his substantial discours adds such a sweetness of rhetoric, that he both satisfies and delights. But great *Cressy* in my mind excels: for he proceeds with such a serious prudence, exact judgment, & industrious care, that any even the severest eye our land can afford, shall find in his discours most full content.

And I am verily perswaded, if the great wits among Catholics would but study as much to adorn their faith, as

they do their philosophical subtilities wherein they are excellently acute, a way might yet be found out; besides the ordinary tract of controversies; whereby Catholick religion appearing in her own simplicity and connatural dress, might seem even to her most earnest adversaries, to be as indeed is the very issue of divine wisdom, pure, holy and immaculate; notwithstanding the great prejudice we have here against it. Many great wits in the catholick world do fully believe, that if we, even we here in England could but once see Popery in its own shape, we should infallibly conclude it to be not only a good religion but the best, and not only the best but the only one sole Christianity which Christ planted upon earth, and which every right reason that admits of Christ must needs approve. Some such speech had fallen amongst either consciences in the three last dialogues of the Reclaimed Papist, if they had been finished. But I conceived it would be, by reason of our general unwillingness to hear such news, a fruitless labour; and because it is over and over done already to our hands, in other methods, in a manner needless. I believe too, that I was hindered in that work, that it might be left to some better hand, for mine is too weak for it. It is now besides, at least beyond my present purpose: and the times wherein we live, which look upon popery with an eye of prejudice, will not endure to hear any positive commendations of that old ejected Beldame.

It will rather be expected by many, that I should, before I end my discourse, let fall something, either more or less, against the Papist too, as well as others, that I may appear indifferent unto all. And enough indeed might be said: for the faces of all mankind are now adays besmeared with black patches. But it seems not me to tell other people of their faults, who living at home all alone with my self find enough to do to observe mine own; nor have I either the authority, place, ability, or will to do it. It is the religion *in abstracto*, and not *in concreto*, (as legicians speak)

(speak) not poppish but popery which I excuse. Their faults if they have any, it concerns themselves to look unto. And if I have let fall a gain-saying word against any other, it was no more than what his heady proceedings with his neighbours besides all rules of virtue and reason, forced me to do. The whole land is in a desperate fray about religion, one party getting upon the backs of another, and insulting with a most intemperate outrage over their persons, states and lives: the Protestant had got upon the Papist, whom after he had cuffed, aligned, harrassed all manner of ways for fourscore years and upward, the Presbyterian kept upon him, and that he might enter into both their livelihoods, suffered them both: he was no sooner up, but the Independent lestrid the Presbyterian and knocked them all three. And then it began to be propounded in Parliament (as we received the news in *London* about seven years ago) that the three P. P. P. Papist, Protestant, and Presbyterian should be de-clared the Popetruple crown, utterly to be abolished from the earth. But the third P. was it seems as yet strong enough there, to put a Period to the Proposition. Whither the Independent who mounted last, and got up so in couples that he had almost choaked all the rest, was first to be taken off (which was done in the very beginning of the book) and then the others in order, and no more to be said, than what was necessary to separate the fray, and set every one upon his own legs; that in a cool pat they may all lay their hands upon their hearts and consider what they do. Against the Papist oppressed by all side I have no need to speak any thing; nor does the end and chief motive of my book carry me on to say any thing more than only this; that they are as innocent as any others, and upon the account of religion rather to be loved than hated. Too much has been said and done against them already, and more than can ever be made good. In the interim I pray God in his great mercy to forgive our land, and imprint into all our hearts a right understanding
and

and perfect charity. My intended work is finished ; and although I could say more , yet neither the times, nor my paper already too much swelled, will well bear it ; my mind also calls for freedom, and my pen is dulled.

Alia est pars acroamatica, sequitur moralis.

CHAP. V.

Moral topicks for charity and peace.

§. 29.

Mat comedido supplico.

AS without the indifferency and moderation I have hitherto laboured to implant , ther cannot be in us any capacity of a right understanding : so ther be yet some moral topicks remaining which are apt to implant this moderation and indifferency ; as to consider First, the sad precipices men have run themselves and others by their headiness and temerarious obstinacy in their opinions and conceits about religion. Secondly, that the connatural excellency of a good Christian consists not in finding new wayes to the reformation of other mens thoughts , but putting in practis the old received well known dictates of sobriety, justice and piety in our selves. Thirdly, that charity, which the apostle makes to be the end and highest perfection of religion and indeed all vertue , suggests good and moderate thoughts of our neighbour, &c. But these and such like topicks be a subject fitter for a pious preacher than a civil logician : and so I leav them. What I should speak at this time unto any such purpos , take it in the golden words and phrase of the honourable Lord Chancellor the Oratour of the Land,

Gentle-

Gentlemen, the distempers of religion which have too much disturbed the peace of this Kingdom is a sad argument indeed; It is a consideration that must make every religious heart to bleed, to see religion which should be the strongest obligation and cement of affection and brotherly kindness & compassion, made now by the pervers wranglings of passionate and froward men, the ground of all animosity haired malice and revenge. And this unruly and unmanly passion (which no question the divine nature exceedingly abhors) sometimes and I fear too frequently transports those who are in the right as well as those who are in the wrong; and leaves the latter more excusable than the former, when men who find their manners and dispositions very conformable in all the necessary obligations of humane nature avoid one anothers conversation, and grow first unsociable and then uncharitable to each other; because one cannot think as the other doth. And from this separation we intitle God to the patronage of and concernment in our fancies and distinction, and purely for his sake hate one another heartily.

It was not so of old when one of the most antient Fathers of the Church tells us; that love and charity was so signal and eminent in the primitive Christians, that it even drew admiration and envy from their greatest adversaries, Vide, inquit, ut invicem se diligunt. Their adversaries in that in which they most agreed, in their very prosecution of them had their passions and animosities among themselves; they were only Christians that loved and cherished and comforted and were ready to dye for one another. Quid nunc dicerent illi Christiani si nostra viderent tempora, sayes the incomparable Grotius. How would they look upon our sharp and virulent contentions in the debates of Christian religion and the bloody wars that have proceeded from those contentions, whilst every one pretendeth to all the marks which are to attend upon the true Church, except onely that which is inseparable from it, Charity to one another.

My Lords and Gentlemen. This disquisition hath cost the
King

King many a sigh, many a sad howr; when he hath considered the almost irreparable reproach the Protestant religion hath undergone from the divisions & distractions which have been so notorious within this Kingdom. What pains he hath taken to compose them, after several discourses with learned & pious men of different persuasions you may see by a declaration he hath published upon that occasion, by which you see his great indulgence to those who can have any pretension from conscience to differ with their brethren. And I hope God will so bless the candour of his Majesty in the condescensions he makes, that the Church as well as the State will return to that unity and unanimity, which will make both king and people as happy as they can hope to be in this world.

If aught yet remain to be said, in the heavenly words of blessed St. Paul I shall conclude it all. *Quosdam quidam posuit Deus, &c.* Some hath God set over us in his Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly doctours, then vertues, then graces of healing, opitulations, gubernations, sorts of tongues. Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all doctours? are all vertues? have all men the grace of healings? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret? But do you emulate the better graces. And I do yet show unto you a more excellling way. If I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity, I am but as sounding brass and tingling cymbal. And if I shall have prophetic, and know all mysteries and all sciences and if I shall have all faith so that I can translate mountains, and have not charity I am nothing, &c.

This is the great rule of our happines and square of all perfection. *Et quicumque hanc regulam secuti fuerint, pax super illos, & misericordia, & super Israel Dei.*

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150.	24.	in his busines,	in this busines
154.	11.	them profess,	them more profess
163.	5.	so much as the	So much was the
185.	29.	as his rational	as his notional
190.	27.	other therein	other theorem
193.	10.	me that	me know that
	25.	to withdraw	so withdraw
197.	16.	or from the	or form of the
198.	24.	both to the	both in the
	27.	of proceedings	of proceeding is
	29.	weaker. So	weaker part. So
	23.	case of the	case, the
200.	14.	in vain it is	in whom it is
201.	14.	falsehood of others	falsehood of theirs
	27.	of others	of theirs
202.	6.	ever whilst	even whilst
203.	3.	and the busines	and here the busines
	7.	resp of the	keep of the
204.	15.	it in places	it in all places
206.	4.	Do yet as	Do ye as
209.	1.	too by the same	too by some
211.	13.	to eat now	to eat or drink now
213.	29.	that man	that manna
214.	18.	Lord repelled	Lord replied
215.	6.	to salu. by	to salu all, by
216.	35.	by topical	by tropical
218.	35.	molested	invetted
220.	17.	by rightly	by nightly
	21.	Christ afford	Christ only afford
221.	3.	cannot make	can make
ibid.	27.	now sit upon	now set upon
224.	13.	and defended	and defend
	30.	too, els	too, or els
233.	13.	All antiently	And all antiquity
237.	6.	principals.	principally
	10.	confess it and	confess and
243.	16.	thing. The Catholick	thing the Catholick
244.	21.	the worst	the worse
245.	26.	recovered by Gods	recovered Gods.
247.	7.	penitently	patiently
248.	15.	contained	continued
	20.	imposed was	imposed is
249.	8.	personally	punishment
259.	7.	for which he	for which we
261.	35.	and then	and when
283.	10.	really parke	really partake
317.	17.	without sign	without design
329.	18.	conversion	convention

